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ROYALL
AND
LOYALL
BLOOD

Shed by Cromwel and his Party, &c.

{ KING CHARLES
the Martyr.

The Earl of Strafford.

The Arch-Bishop of Can-
terbury.

Duke Hamilton

viz. { Earl of HOLLAND

Lord Capell.

Earl of DERBY

Marquesse of MONTROSSE

Col. Eusebius Andrews.

Sir Henry Hide

Doctor Hewit

To which are Added 3. other Murthers of
Publique note.

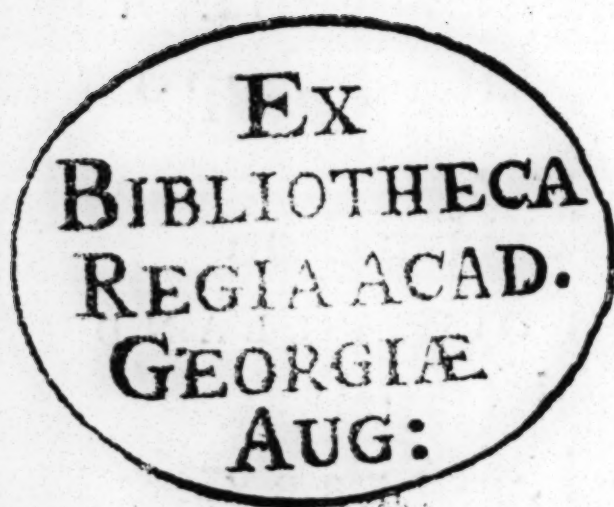
Viz.

{ Sir. Thomas Overbury.
Sir George Sonds his 2. Sons.
Knight and Butler.

To which is annexed a brief Chronicle of the Wars &c
Affairs of the 3. Kingdoms, from 1640 to 1661.

Most exactly Collected and Compared with the Originalls, and
amended of those Errors which abound in the counter-
feit Impression of this Book.

London, Printed by H. B. for William Lee living at the
Turke-Head in Fleet-Street 1662.





To the Reader.



Introuduce this Addition, which is altogether a Stranger to my præceding Book of Mr. Reynolds's Gods Re-against Murther. I am Obliged to Præface something concerning it : When the Abridgers of that Book in Folio, had published their Impression to my great abuse and injury ; They annexed ibereunto some of these late Histories of our own Nation (which being

To the Reader.

being their own Copy and under a New Title of Blood for Blood, they pretended to justify thereby that unwarrantable Action) as consonant and agreeable to the same Subject. Thereupon to Vindicate my self and assert my Right, in the re-Printing of my foregoing Book in this Volume ; I thought fit to subjoyn also the same Histories, but written more at large and more exactly, having Added also some more of the most remarkable Murders perpetrated on other the most eminent and Loyall, both Nobility Gentry and Clergy, which you will perceive in the Title.

It is pity, that this our Native
Country

To the Reader
Country should in so short a space of
time contract so much blood guilt-
nesse, which hath made us an ab-
horrency to the whole World; but
they who consider it was done in a
tumultuary violence, and shed by
hands that had invaded all things
in Church and State, -- per scelera
sceleribus est iter, will not much
wonder at this fury of men, no more
then that a Monster should dege-
nerate.

However we have lived to see
it retaliated upon the heads of some
of the chief of them by a miracu-
lous division and confusion among
them, so that the Proverb may be
inverted, when Usurpers fall
out honest men by the Divine Ju-
stice

To the Reader

It is com to have their own, which
is the present happy state of our gra-
cious Sovereign and his King-
doms,

All I shall adde is, that this Ap-
pendix of Royall and Loyal Blood
is faithfully and diligently Colle-
cted out of the best observations,
not Romanced or stust, as in that
spurious former mpression afore-
said, which you will find to Your
satisfaction in the perusal.

Vale

December
the 20. 1661.

Thine

W. L.

The



An Appendix.

Royall & Loyall Blood

Shed by Cromwell, &c.



Y the confession of even his Enemies (to use the Language of a Noble Pen) those Savage beasts inhumane shape. Hewel deserved to be enrol'd in the Eternal Registers of Fame : The Greatest, Wisest, most Pious, most Christian-King of the Age in which he lived. A Prince into whose truly Heroical breast divinity had infused a soul so pure and white, that not with sufficient caution, reflecting upon the great depravity of the Times and corruption of mens manners ; He as freely confided in the faith of others, as his own Uprightness and Sincerity suggested to him, they ought to have confided in his : Nor was he capable of being deceived : otherwise then through his own exceeding Goodnesse. A Prince so just ; He scarce knew wrong, but what he suffered : Nor is it easie for Malice, to find wherein he ever did an injury unlesse in conferring upon some mens benefits so great, they understood no how to use them as they ought. *Hanc unam, Caesar, habeo a te injuram : effecisti ut viverem & morem ingratus,* was Furnius his Complement to Augustus, for pardoning his Father, who had been in

Arms against him; & there were, who returned the same to this good King, though in the worst sense; abusing the power and trust they had received from him to his ruine, and by the destruction of the Benefactors, cancelling those obligations which were too great to be requited. So dangerous even to their Fountain are the streams of Favor and Bounty, where they flow upon persons in whom ambition is confederate with ingratitude. In a word, He was a Prince who lived innocently. Ruled justly, and dyed Holy; being after sundry afflictions (and those so sharp ones too, as no patience but his could have conquered them) restored to Heaven, by a most glorious Martyrdome, inflicted by the barbarous hands of most accused Traytors and Regicides. And certainly, the virtues of such a Father, cannot but be derived to his Majesty (that now is) by the right of nature, the inheritance of his Royall Blood. Besides, *The memory of a good and mercifull Prince deceased, doth always highly exalt his Progeny, and redouble upon his Son who succeeds him, the fidelity & affection of his people.*

It is very Memorable what this excellent King meditated and wrote upon his captivity at Holdenby. The solitude (*said he*) and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the Worlds vanity and inconstancy. God sees it fit to deprive me of Wife, children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly His, who alone is *All*. I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the Black-List of irreligious and sacreligious Princes. No restraint shall ensnare my soul in sin, nor gain that of me, which may make my enemies more insolent, my friends ashamed, or my Name accused. They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my person into their power, since my soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my consent against my conscience. What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy; from which reason and Religion as well as honour forbid me to recede. Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me. Neither liberty, nor life are so dear to

King Charles the I.

to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my people. If my Captivity or Death be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

Nor are those Divine words ever to be forgotten, which the Denial of his Chaplains attendance drew from *his Most excellent Majesty*; viz. To denie me the Ghostly Comfort of my Chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion, allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not aiming at once to destroy their bodies, and to damn their souls. But my agony must not be relieved with any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine; and such I would have all mine to be. They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my soul. I am such a friend to Church-men, that I have hazarded my own Interests, chiefly upon conscience & constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a father, and a Patron for them and the Church. As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then my own or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections lesse distracted, then those that were encumbered with secular affairs.

Besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men. I must confesse, I bear with more grief and impatience for the want of my Chaplains then of any other my servants; and next (if not beyond

in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and children; since from these indeed more of humane and temperary affections, but from Those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected. My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his lifes and graces.

In the next place, I cannot forbear to repeat those gallant expresses of *this Good Kings* Charity and Religion in his instructions to the Prince, *viz.* I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities. I would have you alwayes propense to the same way; whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted; not onely as an Act of State-Policy and necessity, but of Christian Charity and Choice. It is all I have now left me: a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all, and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this Grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments. for, this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any prosperity can bee. Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things. None will be more loyal and faithfull to me and you, then those Subjects, who sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel in their souls most vehement motives to Repentance, and earnest desires to make some Reparations for their former defects, If You never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity (which the Perfecting some, *Mens* designs requires) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as a Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true religion established

King Charles the I.

Established in the Church of *England*. I tell you, I have
tryed it, and after much search and many disputes
have concluded it to be the best in the world; not
onely in the Community, as Christian. but also in
the special notion as reformed; keeping the middle
way between Pomp of superstitious Tyranny and the
meaness of Phantastick Anarchy. Not but that (the
Draught being excellent, as to the main, both for
doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*)
some lines, as in very good Figures, may hastily need
some sweetning, or polishing, which might here have
easily have been done by a safe and gentle hand; if
some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded
such rude alteration, as would have quite destroyed all
the beauty and proportions of the whole. The Scan-
dall of the same troubles, which some may object, and
urge to you against the Protestant Religion established
in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own
thoughts in this: that scarce any one who hath been
a beginner, or an active persecutor of this Late Warr
against the Church, the Laws and Ministry, either was,
or is a true lover, embracer or practicer of the Prote-
stant Religion established in *England*: which neither
gives such Rules, nor ever before set such examples.
But let not counterfeite and disorderly zeal abate your
value and esteem of true Piety. Keep you to true prin-
ciples of piety, virtue and honour, you shall never want
a Kingdome. My Prayer to God Almighty is (what
ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt
up and fortifi'd in my own innocency, and his grace)
that he would be pleased to make you an Anchor or
harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten
Kingdomes: a Repairer, by your wisdom, Justice,
Piety and valour, of what the folly and wickednesse of
some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing
entire in Church or State; to the Crown the Nobility,
the Clergy or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liber-
ties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience or Lives.
When they have destroyed Me, as I doubt not but my
blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I

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beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the Artifices and hypocrisie of their Leaders; whose inward Horrour will be their first Tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary Judgements. For those that loved me, I pray God they may have no miss of me when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjectts may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues. For those that repent of any defects in their duty towards me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe you will find them truly virtuous to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me. In summe, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power. Much good I have offered, much I purposed to Church and State if times had been capable of it. The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace: this mask of religion upon the face of rebellion will not long serve to hide some mens deformities. Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects, by their miseries, will have learned; that religion to their God & Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and infelicity. I pray God bless you, and establish your Kingdomes in righteousness, your soul in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people. And let my memorie ever, with my Name, live in you, as of your Father that loves you, and once a King of 3. flourishing Kingdomes; who God thought fit to honour not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Law, the honour of my Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a Thousand Kingdomes.

Thus that King and Prophet spake to his Royal Son, our present most gracious Sovereign. Whereunto it

will

King Charles the I.

will be very pertinent to adde some of his Meditations upon Death, after his closer imprisonment. *viz.* I have now especially, cause to meditate, saith He, and prepare for my death; knowing, there are but few steps between the prisons and graves of Princes. I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality. And, although my death at present may justly be presented to me, with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can but upon it (Affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon those stings as unpoisonous, though sharp since my Redeemer hath either pul'd them out, or given me the Antidote of his death against them: which, as to the immaturity, Injustice, shame, scorn and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear. Indeed, I never did find so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts, with the thoughts of death. My enemies have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems, desirable to men. But, O my soul, think not that life too long tedious wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our days. That I must dye as a man, is certain; That I may dye as a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdomes; my Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; my enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy. I confesse, it is not easie for me to condescend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God
suffers

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suffers me to be tempted ; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenesse of a barbarous Assassination or in those formalities, whereby my enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice to the cruelty of malice ; that I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse piety ; it will be but a necessarie policie to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign ; who know that no law of God, or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse -gainst me ; and, who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjury. It is indeed a sad Fate for any man to have his enemies his Accusers. Parties, and Judges ; but most desperate when it is acted by the intolerance of Subjects against their Sovereign ; wherein Those, who have had the chiefeest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick troubles, must by shedding my blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and Man. Well, God's will be done. I doubt not but my innocencie will find him both my Protector and my Advocate, whom I own as King of Kings ; not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them, but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them ; who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the great Patrons of Law, justice, Order and Religion on Earth) as there be either men or devils which love confusion. Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their Babel ; who built it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings. I am confident they will find avengers of my death among themselves : the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me. I bleſs God, I pray not so much that this bitter cup of violent death may pass from me, as that of his wrath may passe away

away from all those, whose hands, by deserting me are sprinkled; or, by acting and consenting to my death, are imbrued with my blood. My greatest Conquest of death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victorie of his Resurrection and the glorie of his Ascention. They cannot desire of me more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence, whatever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of. For the censures of the World, I know the sharp and necessary Tyrannie of my destroyers, will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against me: I am perswaded, I am happie in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects not only pitie and pray for me but would be content even to dye with me, or for me, My chiefeft comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God: before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to cause the so long disputed by the sword, between me and my causeless enemies; where, I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacie, who, from Worldly successe (rather like sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions: whose wise providence (vve know oft permits many events, which his revealed Word the only clear safe and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves. I shall be more then Cuckour, through Christ enabling me, for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the Authour of truth, Order, and peace, for all which I have been forced to contend against errour, fiction and confusion. Nor do I wish other then the safe bringing of the Ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard: though it be very strange that Mariners can find no other means to appease the Storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

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His Prayer.

IF thou, Lord, wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the Vally of the shadow of death. To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it is the grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God. O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to dy with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee my God. Thou givest me leave as a man, to pray, that this Cup may pass away from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian to adde, Not my Wil, but thine be done. Yea Lord, let our Wils be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine. Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull unto them. O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity. And, when their hands shall be heaviest and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and Eternall mercies; That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever blessed Eternity. Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

TO come unto the last Act of this blessed King; The House of Commons was now reduced to about 40. Members (a loathed piece of the *R V M P*) not only the least but the worst Part of the House, and the very dregs, and many of these Offices of the Army. These few are not ashamed to arrogate unto themselves a Power to govern All, to make and unmake Laws, to judge the King, to change the Kingdome to that which they called a Common-Wealth. They decree, that the supream power is in the people: That the power belongs unto the representatives, and namely to themselves: that their Acts without consent of King or Lords, have the force of Laws: That to raise Warre and bear Arms against the representative or Parliament is no less then Treason. That the King himself had taken Arms against the Parliament, and was guilty of all the blood of the late war, and his blood was required. Hereupon they erect a new Tribunal of Subjects, and those of the meaner quality, against their King, and to procure some reverence from the Name, they stile it, *The High-Court of Justice*. To this Court they give power to arraign, hear, judge and put to death *Charles Stuart King of England*.

Into the number of Judges they ascribe six Lords of the upper House, the Judges of the Land newly chosen by themselves, but the greatest part were Commanders in the Army (who had before conspired and determined the Kings death) & members of the House of Commons, Anti-Royalists: the rest of *London*, or near, *Mechanicks*, Banckrupts and debauch, whom yet their fellows magnified with the Title of *Saints*. None of them, but by this publick service hoped for impunity and spoils of the Kings Revenues, houses and goods, to repair and enlarge their private fortunes.

The Lords of the upper House were had in very low esteem, and 'twas believed they would all except four or five of the faction, absent themselves and forsake the House for fear. And the Conspiratours thought two or three of the Lords would be enough to give some countenance to the business. But beyond expectation, that day when the Bill for the Kings Tryall was brought to

The glorious End of

the Upper House, are present seventeen Lords, who do all (without exception) not only refuse to assent, but reject the Bill as dangerous and grounded upon no Law,

Upon this, the Lords are expunged out of the List of the Kings Judges. And a little after, the Judges of the Land (chosen by the Faction) having been asked their Opinion privately, and answered. *That it is against the received Laws and Customes of England, to bring the King to Tryall,* are stricken out of that Black List also.

To this Court they advance a fit President, John Bradshaw, a man of obscure birth, of ill Fame, of a bold forehead, and petulant Tongue.

Whilst they are consulting and preparing for the Tryall, the Presbyterian Preachers of London, almost all, and some of the Independent too, declare, protest and petition against it. Two of the Kings Divines, Doctor Hammond and Doctor Gauden, publish their Addresses. They beseech by the Obligation of so many Oaths, fortified with declarations and solemn promises; by the laws of Nations, by the same Dictates of holy Scripture and Christian Religion, by the love of their Native Country and all things dear unto them, that they would not bring the Kings blood upon themselves and the Kingdom. The Scots by their Delegates, make protestation to the contrary: The States by their Embassadors intercede. The Nobles of England, namely Southampton, Richmond, Hartford, Lindsey and others, do their utmost; offering their heads to the King. The people murmur, but are overaw'd and dis-arm'd. Prince Charles (our present Sovereign the Second of that Name) labours to relieve his Father by all means possible. Besides the Embassadors for the States (sent upon his request) he daily sends over from the Prince of Orange and Himselfe, Agents and Emmissaries: the Kinsmen and relations of Cromwel, Ireton, and of other the Conspirators, with full power to pray, to promise, to threaten, use all Arguments that the Tryall might be avoided, or at least for some time delayed. But all is in vain.

The

King Charles the I.

The Rebellious Innovators contemn all Mediation, couraging themselves with a pretence of divine providence and impulse of the holy Spirit. That notorious brazen-fac'd Peters, from the Pulpit perswades them, *Now is the time for Saints* (thus does the profane fellow abuse the holy Scripture) *to bind the Kings of the earth in chains, and their Nobles with links of Iron.* To you belongs the Prophecie: *You are the Saints: And I am assured; there are in one Army five Thousand men, as good Saints as are in Heaven it self.* Then kneeling down, and crying, and lifting up his hands, I beg you, saith he, *in the name of the People of England to do Justice upon Charles, and let not Benhadad our Enemy escape out of your hands.*

Thus are the Judges hot enough of themselves more and more enflamed.

And now is the most sacred CHARLES, King of Three Kingdomes (had it not been for these Traytors) most flourishing, brought before these judges, sitting on their New Tribunall, to be deprived both of his Kingdomes and of his life. He appears with a Majestick countenance, and an Heroick mind. The Accusation is read of great length, and with much Aggravation: the main Charge and Summo of all, *That he had raised War against the Parliament.* (VVhich Parliament, those very men that served under the Parliament, and were payed with the Parliament-mony, had before this day overthrown and trampled on, scarce leaving a shadow of it;) A great multitude of Spectarors, mean while, with sighs and tears deploring the Fortune of the best of Princes. The Noble Lady Fairfax (Daughter to the Old Famous Lord, Generall Vere) must here be mentioned with honour. Who upon the reading of the Kings Charge, to the hazard of her life, cryed from her standing, with a loud voice; (relating to the accusation made in the Name of the people of England) *That's a lye, 'Tis not the peoples doing, this is not of a tenth parts; but the Plot of the Traytor Crom.* The K. having heard the charge, with voice & gesture full of Majetty, demands of these Judges of their own Creation. By what authority do you judge your King

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a King by all right supream over you? and that against the Publick Faith, given lately in the Treaty with both Houses? I say, by what lawfull authority? For I am not ignorant, there be too many lawless powers, such as of Thieves and Robbers. Let me know by what Law you can challenge this power you assume, and then I will answer: if you cannot shew your Warrant, take heed what you do; do not bring a guilt of blood upon your selves and the Kingdoms. As for me, I am resolved not to betray the power God hath committed to the King, confirmed by a long descent. The President objects, and saith, He is called to Tryall by the Right of the people of England, by whose Election he was made King: His Majesty replies; The Kingdome is not elective, but hereditary, for these Thousand years, and by lawfull succession dissolved to him: he will maintain the true rights of the people, better then they do. These Rights and power of the people are seen best in Parliaments. A Parliament hath in it a King and Lords: None of the Lords are here, neither one nor both Houses, nor any Tribunal on earth can judge the King of England; much less, such men as these; let them shew their authority, and he will answer and make his defence; but 'tis sin to acknowledge this unlawfull, as to reject the lawfull power. In speaking this, his Majesty was often interrupted by the President, and at length commanded away to his prison. He is brought again a second and third time; The President requires him to answer to the Charge, or he must hear the sentence of death; The King persists in calling for the authority of the Court: his life is not so dear to him as his honour, his conscience, the laws, the liberty of his people: for the preservation of all which he hath great Reasons, why he must not plead before these Judges, nor own this new form of judgement. For what power have Subjects to judge their King? or by what Law? Not by Divine: For they command Obedience to Princes. Not by humane or laws of the Land: for the laws of England require all tryalls to be made in the Kings Name, and give no power to the House of Commons to judge even the meanest Subject. Nor is that power derived from any extraordinary Commission

Commission from the people, that may be imagined; for not one of ten (he might have said not one of a Thousand) ever gave his consent. The President now, as formerly interrupts his Majesty, rebukes him, and bids him remember the condition he is in. The Court are satisfied in their own authority; neither can they hear any Reason against it. *A strange Court* (saith the King) *that can bear no Reason.* Such you will find this Court to be, quoth the President. The King is instant, that they would receive his Reasons in writing; if they satisfy them, he will yield to their jurisdiction. Here the President is impatient and commands the Guard to take his Majesty away. *Remember, saith he, you will not hear your King; in vain shall my Subjects expect any right from you, when you stop your ears against the Reasons of your King.*

His Majestie being the Fourth time brought before the Court, is sharply checked by the President (now in Scarlet) for Contumacie, and the Court extolled for longanimity. Submit your self (saith the President) to the Court, or sentence will be pronounced. The King is the same he was, will not submit, but desires liberty to declare some things pertaining to the good of his people, & peace of the Kingdome, in presence of both Houses. This favour being denied, the President, after an Invective against his Majesty, commands the sentence of death to be read; in confirmation whereof All the Judges present, being in Number 67, (there were chosen 150.) Stand up, as it were priding themselves in the boldest Act that ever the Sunne beheld.

His sacred Majesty is taken away by the Souldiers, and (as Christ was) mocked. And as at first they had cryed *Justice, Justice*, so now (like Iews) *Execution, Execution*: they spit upon his cloaths as he passeth by, one or two upon his face; they blow in his face the smoak of their Tobacco (which they knew he hated) and throw their broken pipes before his feet: they beat any that offer

The glorious End of

offer to salute him, and knock down one that sighed, *O Lord have mercy, &c.* they thrust into his Chamber and disturb his privacy; and when with some difficulty the Bishop of London was permitted to wait on his Majesty; they laugh and jeer at the Common-prayers; and with their scoffs and frivolous Questions endeavour to hinder his preparation for the hour of death.

But the King, with invincible constancy, endureth all things. When the Soldiers cryed out *Iustice and Execution*, He said, *Poor souls, they would do as much for a little money against their own Commanders.* When he wiped the spittle off his face, He said, *Christ hath suffered more then this for my sake.*

The Officers and Soldiers, and other Phanaticks that molested him with their Questions and disputes; he repressed again, with solid Arguments and silenced. Their Scoffs, and jeers and petulancy he answered and evaded by contempt and neglect.

And in these straits of time among barbarous incivilities of Soldiers. He applyed himself, with a composed Religious mind, to confessing of his sins, to forgiving of his enemies, to receiving of the blessed Sacrament, to reading of the scripture, to holy Conference, and all pious duties: that he might guard himself with divine favour against the hatred of wicked men; and arm himself with Christian courage against the hour of approaching death.

The

THe day before his death, he was tempted by some Soldiers with an offer of Propositions, and a promise of his Life and Crown if he would yield to them: but at the first hearing of some of them, I had rather, saith He, dye a thousand deaths, then thus to prostitute mine Honour and the liberties of my people.

The fatall day is come, and the King having on his Armour of Innocence and holinesse comes forth of Saint James's with a cheerfull look, and marches on foot among the Soldiers along the Park (as it were to hunt) bidding them march faster: and saying, He was going to win a Heavenly Crown with less sollicitude, then he had fought for his earthly Disdem.

Having passed about an hour in White-Hall, with the Lord Bishop of London about the care of the Prince (his Majesty that now is), he proceeds to the Scaffold erected before the Gate near the banquetting-House, and seeing he could not be heard by the people, kept off by Troops Horse, He turned to the Officers and the rest about him, and spake thus.

Here followeth the **SPEECH**
of **CHARLES** the First
KING of England, &c.

B

His



His Speech.

cc I must say some thing to you, lest my silence
should be interpreted as an Argument of
Guilt. God is my witness (to whose just Tribunall
I am now going) that I never intended to diminish
the due priviledges, of Parliament, nor raised an Army,
before they did as appears by Dates of commissions on
both sides. But I most humbly submit to the divine
Justice, and acknowledge this unjust Sentence to be a
just punishment from God upon Me. who had not the
courage to deliver an innocent Man. (*Strafford*) from
an unjust sentence. I suffered him to be oppressed, and
am now my self oppressed. VVhat charity I have for
cruell enemies this honest man (the Bp. of London) can
testifie. I heartily pardon them all, and beseech the
God of mercy to fit them for his pardon by granting
them repentance for their evill deeds. And I will
shew you the ways from which you have strayed,
to which you must return; the way of peace to your
selve and the Kingdome. You are miserably, out of
the way, in usurping the Government upon Title of the
sword, without any colour of right: for your victory
cannot give a right, where the cause of War is unjust,
neither can successe legitimate unlawful actions. Your
right way to peace (and to avert Gods vengeance) is
to restore to God, to the King, to the people their sever-
all Dues: to God, by setting up again his pure VVor-
ship and settling the Church lamentably shaken, accor-
ding

, ding to Gods Word; which will be best done by advice of a free Nationall Synod. To the King (my successor) by rendering to him what the known laws with a clear voice do require of you. To the people not by giving them the Throne and Scepter, and admitting them to govern, but by giving them the benefit of good Laws and a just Government. The Overthrow hereof; because I would by no means consent unto, hither am I brought to dye a Martyr for my people. In what Religion I dye, that honest man (the Bishop of London) knows, and all the VVorld knows, my life and profession have declared me a Christian, according to the establishd doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In this I was bred up by my Father of blessed memory; in this I have lived, and in this I dye. My God is just, my God is mercifull, through whose infinite goodnesse I trust I shall now change a corruptible Crown for an incorruptible; and have a joyfull passage from this World of Troubles into that Kingdom where is nothing but rest and peace.

Then falling to his prayers, he laid himself to the block and gave his royal neck to the stroke of the disguised Executioner, who cut off his head at one strong blow. Thus dyed King Charles: Thus dyed the Honour of Brittany.

A Prince, certainly, to be reckoned *Vide Charles* among the best Princes, of all ages; *Batius*. of great understanding and judgement, of greater virtue and piety; in the opinion of all men, even of his worst enemies, *worthy of a Kingdom, if he had not reigned*. He was ever the same, by the confession of all men; and (which is truly royal) was able to go on his virtuous course, and carry one uniform countenance in his different fortunes. He pleased some even against their will, pacified many, gained love among his enemies; and turned their reproaches into praises. Such excellent wisdom, such heroical virtues was he endowed with, that he did shine forth through the cloud of calumination with the greater splendor. His enemies feigned him weak of judgement, they found

him equal if not notsuperieur not onely to the prudent politicians, but profound divines. They disgraced him for timidity, and facility and falsity, and inconstancy; upon tryal he was observed to be courageous in battaile, constant to his purpose, not terrified with threats, reproaches, dangers; in prison and death, unshaken and invincible. They called him papist; they saw him a stout defender of the reformed Apostolick Religion, and vindicating the honour of it, not with his ink onely, but with his blood. They called him cruel and yet presumed upon his clemency; till that fortune had carried them so far, that they chose rather to be cruel to him then accept a pardon from him. Truly, if any thing may be objected to so incomparable a Prince, 'tis too much lenity toward the cruell and civility to the churlish; an exactness in point of honesty, scarce allowed Kings, and a modest diffidence in himself, that made him prefer other mens Counsels before better of his own; as if he had given too much credit to his enemies ill report and disesteem.

To end, he was *A great exemplar in his life, a greater in his death.*

Collected by E. B. *Ascens day. 1661. May. 23. &c.*

Additions



Additions out of Mr Fullers

Church-History. XI

B. p. 237

After his death, on Wednesday sennight, the Kings corps being embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered to the care of his two Servants, to be buried at *Windsor*. They brought the Corps to *Windsor* that night. *Feb. 5* and digged a Grave for it in *St. Georges Chappell*; on the south-side the Communion-Table.

But the next day, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey* (others, though sent to, denying the service) came to *Windsor*, and brought with them two Votes passed that morning in Parliament. Wherein the ordering of the Kings Buriall, for the form and manner thereof, was wholly committed to the Duke of *Richmond*, provided, that the expence thereof exceeded not 500*l*.

The Governour would not permit the Corpstobe buried according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.



THE
NAMES and severall Pun-
ishments of the KINGS preten-
ded Judges and their Officers
are as followeth.

Dead before the
KINGS most
happy Returne

* Oliver Cromwe
Henry Ireton.
John Bradshaw
* Sir John Danciers.
* Sir John Bourchier
* Thomas Maleverer
* John Blakiston
Thomas Pride
Isaac Ewer
John Alured
Colonell Richard Dean
* Humphery Edwards

* William Pursey
* Sir William Constable
* Anthony Stapely
* Sir Gregory Norton
* Thomas Wogan.
* John Venn
* Francis Allen
* Peregrin Pelham
Thomas Andrews
* Thomas Horton
* John Fry
Thomas Hammond
* The Lord. Gray of Groby.
* John Moor,

Fled since.

Colonell Whaley
Colonell Okey

* Sir Michael Livesy

Colonell Goffe

* Valentine Walton

* William Say

* Daniel Blagrove

* Lieut. Gen. Ludlow

* William Camley

Col. Berkhead

* Joh. Lisle

Colonell Hewson

* Cornelius Holand

* Miles Corbet

* Thomas Challoner

 Dixwell

* Nicholas Love.

Executed according to LAW

Thomas Harrison

* John Carew.

John Cook the pretended
Sollicitor General.

Hugh Peters

* Thomas Scot

Adrian Scroop,

* John Jones

Francis Hacker

Daniel Axtell.

Attainted and condemned and now
in the Tower,
where they are to
remain till the
pleasure of the Parli-
ament.

* Henry Marten

* August. Garlan

* George Fleetwood. d

* James Temple

Col. Owen Rowe.

Col. Robert Titchburn

* Gilbert Millington

Coll. Robert Lilburne.

* Peter Temple

* Vincent Potter

* John Downes

* Thomas Waite

* Isaac Pennington

* Henry Smith

* Edmund Harvey

Sir Hardress Waller.

* William Heveningham

These

ring in the High Court,
viz. degradation of Honour & Title, to be drawn
on a Sledge from the
Tower of London, on the
27. of Jan. next, to Ty-
burn, with Ropes about
their necks, and so back
again to perpetual im-
prisonment, and forfeit
their Estates. *Vide*
Statute.

* **W** *Il. Lord Munson.*
* *Sr. H. Mildmay*
* *Sir James Harrington*
Robert Wallop
John Phelps

Dead.

Mr. Ask
Dr. Dorislaus } Counsel

* **J** *Amos Challenor*
* *Thomas Challoner*

Officers Fled

E *Dr. Dendy Serjeant*
at Law

Clerk of the pretended
High Court of Justice

The KINGS suppoied Ex- ecutioner.

W *Illiams Hewlet*
Tryed and Con-
demned, but his Executi-
on respited

Dead in the Tower since
their attainder

* **S** *Imon Meyne*
* *Vincent Potter*

Pardoned

* *Francis Lassels*
* *John Hutchinson*
* *Colonell Ingolsby*

AN



William Arch-B: of Canterbury
Prymat of all England, etc.



The right Reverend
William Laud, Arch-Bishop
 OF
CANTERBURY.

By the zealotry and fury of the
Reformists, is warned to his Grace,

By an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons
(an unusual & illegall way) He is be-
headed at Tower-Hill, Jan.

the 10. 1644.

His strongest and firmest Resolutions, that
 fixed sober men can make, compared
 with the bare opinion of a precise Non-
 Conformist in Religion is but like a shaken
 reed: so unmoveable are they from a-
 ny thing their fancy hath once suggested
 be divine direction. This was most apparent in
 their violent persecution of Episcopacy, which their
 heads and Chiefs gave out to be Antichristian, and con-
 sequently to be endeavored to be wholly extirpated as E-
 nemies to the people of God. Upon this Edge the Pha-
 rick Vulgar was set against the most sacred Function
 and Hierarchy.

The Chief / whom this Right Reverend and most Christian Prelate being at the clamorous instance of the rude multitude, crying out, *No Bishops, no Bishops*; by a Vote of the Lords and Commons, with 11 others of his Order, committed first to the *Black Rod*, then to the *Tower*; endured a very tedious Imprisonment: the Crime in general objected to them was their Protestation entered in the House of Lords, that nothing done there, during their exclusion should be valid. Afterward the spleen of the Reformists, singled out the *Arch-Bishop* to be a Sacrifice to their *Diana* of Presbytery then rising and getting foot in *England*. His particular charge, which he defended most learnedly and gallantly at the Barre of the House of Lords, consisted meerly of the eye-sores strict profession of that party. They may be summed up in these Heads.

1. For placing of Images in churches, and particularly his own Chappell at *Lambeth*.

2. For glazing of Church-windows with Painted Imagery.

3. For erecting of Crucifixed Altars, and railing them in.

4. For bowing at the Name of Jesus.

5. For turning out and silencing godly Reformed Ministers, and putting others (*scandalous*) in their room.

For preferring men Popishly affected to Bishopricks and attendance upon the King and the Royall Family.

6. For holding correspondence with the Popes Nuntio and Jesuites, and procuring the said Nuntio leave to reside here.

7. For promoting of Arminianisme and preferring *Arminians*.

8. For disowning and discountenancing the Reformed Churches abroad.

9. For endeavouring a Reconciliation betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*.

10. For doing ill Offices between the King and his people, and for his endeavouring to subvert Parliament the Laws and Liberties of *England*.

All that concerned the Ceremonies of Religion he justified by the *English* Canon; the rest he plainly refuted but such was the malice of his Enemies, that they were resolved to have his life which they compassed; his Sentence being that he should be hanged, drawn and quartered: the Lord Mayor difficultly obtaining that he should have the honor to be beheaded. He dyed cheerfully, with a colour as red in his cheeks as at any time in his life, making it most evident, that he was a most firm Protestant, of which Religion he lived and dyed a main Pillar.

His SPEECH at his death was as followeth:

The



**The Speech or Sermon of the most
Reverend Father in God, *William* Lord
Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Immediately
before his Execution on the Scaffold on
Tower-Hill, *January*, 10. 1644.**

Upon Heb. 12. 1, 2.

*Let us run with patience that race that is set before us,
looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our faith
who for the joy that was set before him, endured the
Crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the
Right Hand of the Throne of God.*

Good People !

You'l pardon my old Memory, and upon so sad oc-
casions as I am come to this place, to make use of my
papers, I dare not trust my self otherwise.

Good People !

'Tis a very uncomfortable time to preach in, and yet I
shall begin with a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of
the Hebrews.

*Let us run with patience that race that is set before us, loo-
king unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our faith, who for the
joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the
shame, and is set down at the Right hand of the Throne of God.*

* *An. At. 72.* **I** Have been long in my race, * and how I have looked unto Jesus the Authour and finisher of my faith, is best known to him. I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Crosse a death of shame, but the shame must be despised, or there is no coming to the Right hand of God: Jesus despised the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red-Sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the land of Promise; for that was the way by which of old he led his people: But before they came to the Sea, he instituted a Passeeover for them; a Lamb it was, but it was to be eaten with very soure Herbs, as in the twelfth of *Exodus*.

I shall obey, and labour to digest the soure Herbs as well as the Lamb, and I shall remember that it is the Lords Passeeover; I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that gathered them, but look up only to him who instituted the one, and governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea; for I have the weaknesse and infirmity of flesh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me and exampled me *ut transiret calix iste,*

That this cup of red-Wine might passe away from me; but since it is not that my will may; his will done: and I most willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, and passe through it, in the way that he will be pleased to lead me.

And yet (Good People) it would be remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Israel*, were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them: I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of blood, as he

he was to deliver the three children from the furnace,
as Dan. 3.

And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; their Resolution was, They would not worship the Image the KING had set up; nor shall I the Imaginations which the PEOPLE are setting up nor will I forsake the Temple, and the truth of GOD, to follow the Bleating of Jereboams Calves in Dan and in Bethel.

And I pray God bleſſe all this People, and open their eyes, that they may ſee the right way, for if it fall out that the blind lead the blind, doubtleſſe they will both, into the ditch: For my ſelf, I am (and I acknowledge, it in all humility) a moſt grievous ſinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in ſtore for me a poor penitent, as well as for other ſinners, I have upon this ſad occaſion, ranſack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my ſins that are there, any ſins now deſerving death by any known Law of this kingdom: and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beſeech you I may rightly be underſtood, I charge nothing in the leaſt degree upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable Witneſſes, and in that way I or any Innocent in the world may juſtly be condemned; And I thank God though the weight of the Sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Chriſt for it) I ever was in my ſelf; and though I am not the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever dyed by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors

* Holſirſh 170.

K. Egelred.

April 19 1112

* Baker 150. K.

Richard the 2d.

Ann 1384.

have gone this way, though not by this means: for * Elſegus was hurried away and loſt his head by the Danes. And * Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows: And long before theſe Saint John Baptiſt had his head danced off by a lewd Woman, and Saint Cyprian Archbiſhop of Carthage, ſubmitted his head to a persecuting ſword

sword. Many Examples great and good, for they teach
 me patience, and I hope my cause in Heaven will look
 of another dye then the colour that is put upon it here
 upon Earth; and some comfort it is to me, not onely
 that I go the way of these great men in their severall Ge-
 nerations, but also that my charge (if I may not be par-
 tiall) looks somewhat like that against Saint Paul in the
 25. of the Acts, for he was accused for the Law and the
 Temple that is the Law and Religion; and like that of
 Saint Stephen in the Sixth of the Acts, for breaking the
 Ordinances that Moses gave us, which Ordinances were
 Law and Religion; but youl say, do I then compare my
 self with the integrity of Saint Paul and Saint Stephen?
 No, God forbid, far be it from me; I only raise a com-
 fort to my selfe. that the great Saints and servants of God
 were thus laid up in their severall times; and it is very
 memorable that Saint Paul, who was one of them, and
 a great one, that helped on the accusation against Saint
 Stephen, fell afterwards into the selfe-same accusation
 himself, yet both of them great Saints and Servants of
 God. I but perhaps a great clamour there is that I
 would have brought in Popery, I shall answer that more
 fully by and by; in the mean time, you know what the
 Pharisees said against Christ himself, in the Eleventh of
 John, *If we let him alone all men will beleve him, Et veni-*
ent Romani, and the Romans will come and take away both
our place and Nation. Here was a causlesse cry against
 Christ, that Romans would come; and see how just the
 judgement of God was, they crucified Christ for fear
 lest the Romans should come; his death was that that
 brought in the Romans upon them; God punishing
 them with that which they most feared; And I pray
 God this clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I
 have given to my knowledge no just cause) help not
 to bring him; for the Pope never had such an har-
 vest in England since the Reformation, as he
 hath now upon the Sects and divisions that are a-
 mong us; in the mean time, By honour and disho-
 nour,

now, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true,
 am I passing out of this World: Some particulars also
 I think not amiss to speak of.

First, This I shall be bold to speak of the King, our
 Gracious Sovereign; he hath been much traduced by
 some for labouring to bring in Poperie; but upon my
 Conscience (of which I am now going to give God a
 present account) I know him to be as free from this
 charge I think as any man living, and I hold him to be
 as sound a Protestant according to the Religion by Law
 established, as any man in this Kingdom, and that he
 will venture his life freely for it; and I think I do or
 should know both his affection to Religion, and his
 grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as
 any man in *England*.

The second particular is concerning this great and
 populous City, which God bleſs: Here hath been of
 late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to
 the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the
 Parliament, and clamour for Justice, as if that great and
 wise Court (before whom the causes come, which
 are unknown to the many) could not, or would not
 do Justice, but at their call and appointment; &
 away which may endanger many an innocent man, and
 pluck up innocent blood upon their own heads, and per-
 haps upon this City also, which God forbid: and this
 hath been lately practised against my selfe: God for-
 give the setters of this, with all my heart I beg it; but ma-
 ny well meaning people are caught by it: In Saint *Ste-*
phens case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred
 up the people against him; *Acts 6.* and *Herod* went just
 the self same way for when he had killed Saint *Lames*, he
 would not venture upon Saint *Peter* too, till he saw how
 the people took it, and were pleased with it, in the
Twelfth of the *Acts*. But take heed of having your
 hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiab*: for there
 is a time best known to himself, when God among
 other sins makes inquisition for blood: and when
 in-

inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, *Ps. xxi.* that God remembers: that is not all, *That God remembers and forgets not* (saith the Prophet) *the complaint of the poor*; and he tells you what poor they are, in the 9. verse, the poor whose blood is shed by such kind of means: Take heed of this; *It is a fearful thing* (at any time) *to fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the Hebrews: But it is fearful indeed, and then especially when he is making his inquisition for blood; and therefore, with my Prayers to avert the Prophecie from the City, let me desire that this City would remember the Prophecie that is expressed, *Jeremiah 29. 15.*

The third particular is this poor Church of England, that hath flourished and been a Shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when storms have driven upon them; but alas, now it is in a storm itself, and God knows whether or how it shall get out: and which is worse then a storm from without, it is become like an Oak cleft to shivers with Wedges made out of it's own body, and that in every cleft Popery and irreligion is creeping in apace: while as

* *Lib. 2. de Vit. contemp. cap. 2.*

* *Prosper* saith, men that introduce popery are cloyed with a name of imaginary Religion. For v

manner almost lost the substance, and dwelt too much a great deal in opinion; and which all the Jesuites machinations in all parts of Christendome could not ruine, is now fallen in a great deal of danger by her own.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I shall hasten to go out of this miserable world) is my self, and I beseech you, as many as be here present within hearing, observe me: I was born and baptized in the bosome of the Church of England, as it stands yet established by Law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that profession of the Protestant Religion here established I come now to dye; this is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered,

bred, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to dye: What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the externall service of God, according to the Doctrine and discipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now at last I am accused of high Treason in Parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred: This Treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Law of the Realm, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by those Laws. Besides my answers which I gave to the several Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses; it was said that prisoners protestations at the Bar must be taken *de ipso*; I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore must I come to my protestation, not at the Bar, but to my protestation at this hour and instant of my death, in which (as I said before) I hope all men will besuch charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble my Religion, I do therefore here with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I dye in the presence of the Almighty God and all his holy and blessed Angels, and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor ever any change of the Protestant Religion into Popish Superstition; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine, for my innocency in these and from all manner of Treasons whatsoever.

I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deal too wel to be so, but I indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few did one or two Parlements: and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*; There is no corruption in the World so bad as that which is of the best thing in it self, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is

(11)

is corrupted ; and this being the highest and greatest Court, over which no other can have jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a mis-government (which God forbid) should fall upon it , the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of Remedy, and therefore God preserve them and blesse them, and direct them, that there may be no mis-conceit, much lesse mis-government amongst them. I will not enlarge my self any further ; I have done, I forgive all the VVorld, all and every of those bitter enemies, or others whosoever they have been, which have any ways prosecuted me in this kind, and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God, and then of every man , whether I have offended him or no, if he do but conceive that I have ; Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him, and so I heartily desire you to join with me in prayer.

Here followeth the Bishop of Canter^y
buries First Prayer on the Scaffold.

The



The Bishop of Canterburies first Prayer on the Scaffold.

O Eternal God, and merciful Father,
 look down upon me in mercy, in the
 riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies look
 upon me, but not till thou hast nailed
 my sins to the Cross of Christ : look up-
 on me, but not till thou hast bathed me in
 the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my
 self in the woundes of Christ, that so the
 punishment that is due to my sins, may
 pass away and go over me ; and since
 thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost
 I humbly beseech thee give me now in this
 great instance full of patience, proporti-
 onable comfort, a heart ready to dye for
 thine honour, the Kings happinesse, &
 Churches

Churches preservation; and my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin, (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which is yet known of me in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and those especially, whatsoever they be which have drawn down this present judgement upon me, and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, then do with me as seemeth best in thy own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me, and that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more then miserable Kingdom. I shall desire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for myself. O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of Repentance to all people that have a thirst for blood; but if they will not repent, then scatter their devices so, and such as are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his Posterity

Posterity after him in their just Rights
 and Priviledges, the honour and conser-
 vation of Parliaments in their ancient
 and just power, the preservation of this
 poor Church in her truth, peace and pa-
 trimony. and the settlment of this distra-
 cted and distressed people under their
 antient Laws and in their native Liber-
 ties, and when thou hast done all this in
 meer mercy for them, O Lord fill their
 hearts with thankfulnessse, and with re-
 ligious dutifull obedience to thee and thy
 Commandements all their days. So A-
 men Lord Jesus : and I beseech thee re-
 ceive my soul to mercy. Our Father
 which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy
 Name. Thy Kindome come. Thy will be
 done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us
 this day our dayly bread. And forgive us
 our trespasses as we forgive them that tres-
 pass against us. And lead us not into
 temptation ; but deliver us from all
 evill.

Amen,

When

When he had finished his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Doctor Stern, saying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your Fellow Chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the World, and Gods blessing and his wercy be upon them.

Then turning to Master Hind, he said, Friend, I beseech you hear me, I cannot say I have spoken every word as it in my paper but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could : but I beseech you let me have no wrong done me.

Hind. Sir, you shall not. If I do any wrong let it fall on my own head. I pray God have mercy on your soul.

Cant. I thank you, I did not speak with any jealousie as if you would do so but I spake it onely as a poor man, going out of the VVorld, it is not possible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phraze may do mee wrong.

I did thiuk here would have been an empty Scaffold, that I might have had room to dye : I beseech you let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long.

VVhen room was made, he spake thus: I will pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of the world, none can be more willing to send me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir John Clothworthy, VVhat speciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure:

Cant. *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo.*

Sir John Clothworthy. That is a good desire, but there must be a foundation for that desire as assurance.

Cant. No man can expresse it, it is to be found within:

Sir John Clothworthy. It is founded upon a word though and that word would be known.

Cant. The vvord is the knowledze of Jesus Christ, and him alone.

Then turning to the Executioner he gave him money saying Here honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me in mercy.

The Executioner desired him to give him a sign when he should strike, he answered, Yes, I vwill, but let me fit my self first.

Then kneeling down on his knees he prayed thus

The Arch-Bishop of Canter- buries Last Prayer on the SCAFFOLD.

Lord, I am comming as fast as I can, I know I must passe through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee, but it is but umbra mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature: but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death: so Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and blesse this Kingdome with peace and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christs sake if it be his will.

And when he said Lord receive my soul, (which was his sign) the Executioner did his Office.

The

THe Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, is maligned by a party in Parliament. A Charge is exhibited against him by the House of Commons: he is eagerly prosecuted by *Pym* and *Oliver St. Johns*, the multitudes by their Artifices is incensed against him, by whose clamors the House of Lords are forced to assent to his death though no Law or Precedent for it. He is beheaded on Tower-hill, *London*. May 12. 1641.

Greatness is that mark at which the arrows of envy and malice are perpetually levelled, nor can the uprightness, sincerity or vertue of any man, elevated above the pitch of others, secure him either from the open or close assaults of enemies. Men consider not what good great men do in such eximious places, but what harm they may do by the power and authority their grandeur hath vested them with; such suspicion especially of persons of known abilities, and who by their preferment may be thought byassed from their former integrity, soon corrupts into ill wil and rancour, and that is usually terminated in the destruction of great Ones, as will appear in this ensuing History.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman descended of a Right Noble Family in *York-shire*, which his personal vertues had very much illustrated, which brought him forth into the eyes and affections of his Country, neither were his intellectuall abilities any way inferior to his other eminent qualities, so that in all choices of Parliament men he was one of the chief for the aforesaid County. In Parliament he was soon taken notice of for his prudence and excellency of learning, which being directed solely to the service of his Conntry deservedly purchased him the honourable Name of a Patriot.

This Character of him brought him soon to the Kings observation and favour, who well liking and judging his abilities and sufficiencies, fitter for a Minister of State than a private Gentleman, advanced him from the degree of Knight-hood (the honour of his Ancestors) to a Barony

Barony and Earldome, and soon after imployed him as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Here he performed that great trust with very great satisfaction to the King and honour to himself: having augmented and established the Kings Revenue as well as his authority, though in this his meritorious service to the Crown the project of his ruine was first laid.

For a Parliament being called in *England*, in 1640. this noble Earl was Articled against by the House of Commons for severall misdeameanours in his Government in *Ireland* and for endeavouring the subversion of the laws of that Kingdome, by severall arbitrary, illegall impositions and proceedings: that he had also, endeavour'd the like in the Kingdome of *England*, that he was an Enemy to and had been an ill instrument betwixt the King and his People: that he had given the King counsell to dissolve the last Parliament, and to levy money upon the subject by his Prerogative, that he had designed to bring up the Army then in the North to awe the Parliament, and that he had an Army on foot in *Ireland* to that purpose, that his design was to enslave the free people of *England*, and to introduce Popery, *cum multis alijs*, which being singularly and particularly charged against him as Treason, could not with all the aggravation and in the letter of the Law, though every punctilio was insisted on be made appear such: so the subtle malice of his adversaries, after he had made a most learned & lust defence to every thing charged against him (even by the confession of some of his implacable enemies) found out a new expedient to take away his life, by a device, called accumulative Treason, those particular offences in which they judged him culpable being not Treason in themselves, were made to be so and amount to so much in the Grosse, in the whole taken together,

Nevertheless many of both Houses, were not satisfied upon this ground to proceed against his life, but the importunity of the rabble (brought down by their party in the House of Commons) threatening and posting up the *Straffordians*, and demanding Justice, Justice, prevailed in the conclusion against this right worthy and Honorable Earl; the King at last being forced to sign the Bill for his Execution in which the poor Earl himself became a Soliciter to his Majesty though the King bore regret of that action with him to his grave having left this Honorable monument of him in his *Eiken Basilike* looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a Gentleman; I whose abilities might rather make a Prince afraid, then ashamed, &c.

After the aforesaid Bill was assigned, the Parliament deferred not the Execution for five dayes after he was brought to *Tower-hill* and there beheaded.

Two of his Speeches, one the last at *Westminster-Hall*, and the other the last of all at his death are as followeth



The Earl of *Strafford* , Lord
Deputy of *Ireland's* two Speeches,
the one at his Tryal in *Westminster-
Hall*, the other on the Scaffold im-
mediately before his Execution on
Tower-hill, May 12. 1641.

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treason, that I should be guilty of; the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land; that they should now be Treason together, that is not Treason in any one part of Treason accumulative, that so when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it should seem very strange,

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive in there is either Statute Law or common Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to subvert the fundamentall Laws to be high Treason.

For neither Statute Law, nor Common Law written, that ever I could hear of, declareth it so.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth concern me to do.)

It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shewn.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir Edward Cook *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio.* (Jesu) where hath this fire lain all this while, so many hundred of

of years, without any smoak to discover it, till it thus
burst out to consume me and my children: extreme hard
in my opinion, that punishment should precede promul-
gation of law, punishment by a Law subsequent to the
Acts done.

Take it into your considerations: for it is now bet-
ter to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, then
to conform our selves under the Protection of a law
as we think, and then be punished for a crime that doth
precede the Law: what man can be safe, if that be once
admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there
should be no token set upon this offence, by which we
should know it, no admonition, by which we should be
aware of it.

If a man passe down the Thames in a Boat, and it be
split upon an Anchor: and no buoy be set as a token that
there is an Anchor there, that party that owns the An-
chour, by the Maritime laws shall give satisfaction for the
damage done: but if it were marked out, I must come
upon my own perill.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the
token of this high treason?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane
providence can avail nor prevent my destruction.

Lay aside all humane wisdom, and let us rest upon
divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you fore-
warn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordships be pleased to give
that regard unto the Peerage of England, as never to suf-
fer our selves to be put on these nice points upon such
contractive interpretations; and these are where Laws
are not clear, or known. If there must be a tryall of vvits
I do humbly beseech you, the subject and matter may be
somevvhat else than the lives and honors of Peers

My Lords, we find that the primitive time in the progression of the plain Doctrine of the Apostles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them, And so likewise, as I do conceive, it will be wisdom and providence in your Lordships, for your Posterity and the whole Kingdome, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of Constructive and Arbitrary Treason: and to break your selves to the plain Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, shews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious to be more wise and learned in the killing Arts, than our fore-fathers were.

It is now two hundred and forty yeare since any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my self; we have lived happily to our selves at home and we have lived gloriously to the world abroad.

Let us rest contented with that our Father left us, and not awaken those sleepy Lyons to our own destructions: by raking up a few rusty Records that have lien so many Ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordships be nobly pleased, to adde this to those other mis-fortunes befallen me for my sins, not for my Treasons, that a president should be derived from me as a disadvantage (as this will be in the consequent to the whole Kingdome) I beseech you seriously to consider it, and let not my Particular Cause be looked upon as you do: though you wound me in my interest in the Common-VVealth, and therefore those Gentlemen say, that they speak for the Common-VVealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and the inconveniences and mitchiefs that will heavily fall upon us: for as it is in the first of Henry the fourth, no man will after know what to do or what to say, for fear,

Do not put my Lords so great difficulties upon the Ministers of State, that men of wisdom, honour and virtue, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the publick, if you weigh them and measure them by grains and scruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdom will be laid waste, and no man will meddle with them that hath honours, issues, or any fortune to lose.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven left me: I should be loth my Lords (there he stopped.)

What I forfeit for my self it is nothing but that my indiscretion should forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to my very soul.

You will pardon my infirmity, something I should have said, but I am not able, (and sighed) therefore let it passe.

And now my Lords, I have been by the Blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this life present are not to be compared to the Eternal weights of that glory that shall be revealed to us hereafter.

And so my Lords, even so with tranquility of mind I do submit my self freely and clearly to your Lordships judgements, and whether that Righteous judgement shall be to life or death.

*Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum
confitemur*

*The Earl of Straffords Speech on the
Scaffold immediately before his Exe-
cution on Tower-hill, May the 12.
1641.*

My L. Primate of Ireland.

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you these many years and I do thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here; I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words but I doubt I shall not, the noise is so great. My Lords; I am come hither by the good wil and pleasure of Almighty God to pay that last debt I ow to sin, which is death and by the blessing of that God, to rise again through the merits of Iesus Christ to righteousness and life eternall, Here he was a little interrupted.

My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that Judgment hath passed against me, I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world a forgiveness that is not spoken from the teeth outwards but from the very heart, I speak it in presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing thought arising in me towards any man living. I thank God I can say it, & truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my employment, since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had anything in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of King and people: although it hath been my ill fortune to be mis-contrued.

I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to erre, righteous judgement we must wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be mis judged one of another: There is one thing that I desire to free myself of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with
so

so much cheerfulness that I hope I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did alway think the Parliaments of *England* were the most happy constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is at the utmost execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercy of his and I beseech God return it into his own bosome that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world, I did it living and now dying it is my wish; I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness and Reformation of a kingdom should be written in Letters of blood: consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the last drop of my blood should rise up in judgment should rise up against any one of you, but I fear you are in wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I dye a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England* wherein I was born and in which I was bred. peace and prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I say truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty yeares of age to this present, going now upon forty nine; I never had in my heart, to boun of this religion of the Church of *England*: Nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my remembrance: and so

so being reconciled by the merits of *Jesus Christ* our Saviour, into whose bosome I hope I shall shortly be gathered to those Eternall happinesse, which shall never have end; I desire heartily the forgivenesse of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss: and so my Lords and Gentlemen farewell: farewell all things of this world.

I desire that you would be silent, join with me in prayer and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all happinesse, where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: and so God blefs this Kingdome, and *Jesus* have mercy on my soul.

Then turning himself about he saluted all the Noble men; and took a tolema leave of all considerable persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he said, Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and intreat you all to pray with me and for me, then his Chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he espies his Brothers, *Sir George Wentworth*, and calls him to him saying, Brother, we must part, remember me to my Sister, and to my Wife; and carry my blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of England, &c warn him that he bear no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me: and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his Estate, and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country; not aiming at higher preferments,

Aliter) To his Son *Mr. Wentworth* he commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all faith and allegiance in things temporall, to the Church in things Spirituall, chargeth him again and again, as he will answer it to him in heaven never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church for if he did, it would be a canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry

Carry my blessing also to my daughter *Ann* and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God and he will bless them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good or evil, and cannot speak for it self, God speak for it, and bless it; now said he I have nigh done, one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and will separate me from my dear Brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this going to take off his doublet and to make himself unready, he said I thank my God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this last office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me, when he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world; then kneeling down by the block he went to prayer again himself, the Primate of Ireland kneeling on the one side and the Minister on the other: To the which Minister, after prayer, he turned himself having done prayer & spoke few words softly, having his hands lifted up & closed with the Ministers hands

Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the Executioner, that he would first lay down his head to try the fitnessse of the block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all: and so he did, and before he layed it down again, told the Executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his hands; And presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands the Executioner struck off his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand shewed it to all the people, and said, *God save the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed and appointed to be carried into Yorkshire, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

He left these 3 instructions for his son in writing.

First, That he should continue still to be brought up under those Governours to whom he had committed him

him; As being the best he could pick out of all those within his knowledge, and that he should not change them, unless they were weary of him; that he should rather want himself, then they should want anything they could desire,

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would answer it at the last day, not to put himself upon any publick employments till he was thirty years of age at least: And then if his Prince should call him to Publick service, he should caretully undertake it, to testifie his obedience, and withall to be faithful and sincere to his Master, though he should come to the same end himself did.

Thirdly, that he should never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foresaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be shared amongst the Nobility and Gentry: But if his Son medled with any of it, he wished the curse of God might follow him and all them, to the destruction *of the most Apostolicall Church upon Earth.*

James Duke Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge, &c. being commissioned by the Parliament of Scotland to be Generall of their Army marching into England, for the rescuing the King out of the hands of the Sectarian Army; is defeated at Preston, by General Lt. Cromwel: flies to *Wicster* in *Staffordshire*, and is there taken: and afterwards by a High Court of Justice is tryed as Earl of Cambridge, for Treason against the English Commonwealth, is sentenced by them, and beheaded accordingly. *March 9. 1648. in the Pallace-yard at Westminster.*

After the *Functo* of the High Court of Justice had embrewed their hands in the blood of their lawfull Prince and Sovereign: whereby they struck a sad consternation & dread in the minds of all men, fearing whether their unlimited cruelty would reach: while yet the horror of their late murder was fresh in every mans eye, and so make themselves more formidable yet, and by number of their sentences, to adde weight and authority to their pretended jurisdiction, and usurped power over the House of Peers, & to awe the more Ordinary sort, (who could expect nothing but the utmost severity, if they fell within the compasse of their Laws) they sacrificed three Noble-men next to their Cause. The first of whom being this Duke Hamilton, in affront to the *Scotch* Nation, with whom they were resolved to quarrell, and whereof he was the chiefeft and greatest person (by a quibble of his being naturalized by his Earldome of Cambridge, they making use there, of the Law) was according to their Sentence, Executed in the Pallace-yard at *Westminster*, the day and year aforesaid, where he spake as followeth.

The



Thomas Earle of Straford
L. Lieutenant of Ireland, etc.
Sould by P. Sient

G. G.

**The three several Speeches of
Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridge,
The Earl of Holland and the Lord
Capell, immediately before their
Execution upon the Scaffold in the
Pallace-yard Westminster, on Friday
March 9. 1649.**

**Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridge, his
Speech on the Scaffold. March 9.
1649.**

UPon Friday the ninth of this instant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the sentence of death upon Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capell, about ten of Clock that morning L. Col. Beecher came with his Order to the severall Prisoners at St. Jam. requiring them to come away; according to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a guard, to Sr. Thomas Cottens house at Westminster, where they continued about the space of two hours, passing away most of that time in religious and seasonable conferences with the Ministers, there present with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was desired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the Room voided, Mr. Bolton was desired by the Lord of Holland to take that pains with them
E which

Which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn Affections among them, Prayer being concluded and hearty thanks returned by them all to the Ministers who performed as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambridge* prepared first to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual embraces and some short ejaculatory expressions to and for his fellow sufferers, he took his leave of them all and went along with the Officers, attended upon by *Dr. Sibbald*, when he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad condition,

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yard at *Westminster*, over against the great Hall-Gate in the sight of place where the High Court of Justice formerly sat (the Hall-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disher* and several Companies of Col. *Hewson*, and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn in the place: when the Earl came from *Westminster Hall* near the Scaffold he was met by the Undersheriff of *Middlesex* and a Guard of his men who took the charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the Partizans that were his Guard: The Sheriff of *London* being also according to command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution performed

Duke Hamilton being come upon the Scaffold and two of his own servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth,

Duke, whether shall I pray first;

Dr. Sibbald. As your Lordship pleases.

Duke, My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the fashion, I may ask you Sir; Doe those Gentlemen expect I should say any thing to them, or no? they cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

Duke. There is something in it. He was with the House,

Dr. Sibbald. I suppose he would give no interruption to your Lordship, at this time were there not some man of concernment in it?

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful servant to the State, and he was in great esteem and reputation with men.

He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a servant of mine to send something to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while you have a return from him. My Lord you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Christ for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Bloud, that purgeth us from all our sins, even the sins of the deepest dye: the Bloud of Jesus Christ washes away all our sins, and that Bloud of Christ is poured forth upon all such as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life: that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix your self in the free mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose mercies are everlasting to everlasting, to everlasting, unto all such as with the eye of Faith behold him: behold Jesus the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who hath satisfied the Justice of God by that all-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Cross for the sins of the whole world, so that the sting of death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath sanctified it as a passage to everlasting blessedness: It is true, the waters of Jordan run somewhat rough and surely betwixt the Wilderness and our passage into Canaan, but let us rest upon the ark (my Lord) the Ark Christ Jesus, that will carry us through and above all those waves to the rock of ages, which no flood nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever, against whom the powers and principalities, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail: lift up & fasten your eys now upon Christ

crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr Stephen) ready to receive your soul, when it shall be parted from this frail and mortall body: Alas no man would desire life if he knew before hand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrows, vexation and trouble, grief and discontentment that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private: in every station and calling there are severall miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging sea into the Port of everlasting happinesse: We must pass through a sea, but it is the sea of Christs Blood, in which never soul suffered shipwrack, in which we must be blown with winds and tempests, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his servant was coming, he answered. So Sir: And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here,

Sheriffe. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying in regard of the Earl of Denbighs sedding to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to say,

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriffe will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl of Cambridge privately, he said; So, it is done now: and then turning the front of the Scaffold before which (as in all the rest of the Pallaces there was a great concourse of people, he said.

Duke

Duke. I think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that see me, but my voice truly is so weak, so low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time so much in love with speaking, or with any thing I had to expresse, that I took delight in it: yet this being the last time that I am to do so, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end justly for my sins, I shall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriffe, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to suffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of England: truly Sir, It was a Country that I equally loved, with my own, I made no difference: I never intended either the generality of it's prejudice, or any particular mans in it: what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whose Commands I could not disobey, without running into the same hazzard there of that condition that I am now in, The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not need to specify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordships face, as you speak.

Duke. No Sir it will not burn it. I hope I shall see a brighter Sun then this. Sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousnesse my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was saying Sir.) It pleased God so to dispose that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General cloathed with a Commission, stand here now ready to dye; I shall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I said in my own defence at the Court of JUSTICE, my self being satisfied with the command that is laid upon me, and they satisfied with the justnesse of their procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is just, and howsoever I shall not say any thing as to the matter of the Sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deserve even a wordly punishment, as well as hereafter; for we are all sinfull, Sir, and I a great one; yet for my

comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding mercifull : I know my Redeemer sits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breast) is Mediating for me at this instant : I am hopeful through his free grace and all-sufficient merits, to be pardoned of my sins, and to be received into his mercy ; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ ; I have not been tainted with my Religion. I thank God for it, since my infancy, it hath been such as hath been profest in the Land and stablished : and now 'tis not this Religion or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of men that is to be built upon ; 'tis but one that's right one that is sure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour Sir there is truly something, that (*had I thought my

Speech would have been thus taken) I would *Observing have digested it into some better method than the writers, than now I can, and shall desire these Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that may not in this manner be published to my disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here,

There is Sir terrible aspersions has been laid upon myself, truly such as if my actions and intentions had not been such as they were pretended for : but notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing less intended then to serve him in it. I was his domestick servant, and there was nothing declared by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me : and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I lose it in another way : and that was one of the ends, as to the King : I speak onely of that, because the rest has many particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an aspersion as is laid upon me ; neither was there any other design known to me by the incomming of the Army, then what is really in the Declaration published. His per-

son I do professe I had reason to love as he was my King and as he had been my Master, it has pleased God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought flattery to have said this, or any end in me for the saying of it, but to free my self from that calumny which lay upon me I cannot gain by it: yet truth is that which we shall gain by for ever.

There hath been much spoken, Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdome: it is mentioned in that Declaration: and truly to that I did and do remit my self, and have been very much laboured for discoveries of these inviters, tis no time to dissemble. How willing I was to have served this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honest, pious and Religious men: and how ready I would have been to have served them, if it had pleased them to have preserved my life, in whose hands there was a power. They have not thought it fit, and so I am unusefull in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at first (Sir) so I say now concerning that point, I wish the Kingdoms happiness, I wish it peace, and truly Sir I wish that this blood of mine may be the last that is drawn, and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctancy with my self, as to the matter of my fact, for my suffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all: Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave, His will be done that hath created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miserable sinfull creature now speaking before him. For me to speak to you (Sir) to you of State-businesse, and the Government of the Kingdome, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many that I never was an ill instrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happine of the King; & truly I shall pray still that God may

rect him, as that may be done which shall tend to his glory, and the peace and happinesse of the Kingdome.

I have not much more to say that I remember of ; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. Sibbald. *Your Lordship has not so fully said it.*

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did say something.

Dr. Sibbald. *I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.*

Duke. Truly Sir, for the profession of my Religion, that which I said was the established Religion, and that which I have practised in my own Kingdome where I was bred and born, my Tenents they need not to be exprest, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion, many godly men there is that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more then at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (Not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my sins, and I freely forgive all those that even I might (as a wordly man) have the greatest animosity against; VVe are bidden to forgive, Sir. 'tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned) *forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

D. Sibb. *Tis our Saviours Rule, Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, do good to them that despitefully use you.*

Duke. Sir it is high time for me to make an end of this and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. Sibbald, he prayed, &c.

VVhen the Duke had prayed a good while he turned himself to the Executioner and said, VVhich way is it you would have me lye, Sir,

Executioner The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold, the Earl replied, VVhat, my head this way (Then the Vnder-Sheriffs Son said, my Lord, the Order is, that you should lay your head towards the High Court of Justice.

The Duke, after a little discourse in private with some of his Servants, kneeled down on the side of the Scaffold and prayed a while to himself.

VVhen he had finisht his Prayer, Dr. Sybbald spake to him thus :

My Lord, I humbly beseech God that you may with an holy Christian courage give up your soul to the hand of your faithfull Creator and gracious Redeemer ; and need not be dismayd with any sad apprehension of terroures of this death, and what a blessed and glorious exchange you shall make within a very few minutes.

Then with a cheerful and smiling countenance, the Earl imbracing the Doctor in his arms, said.

Duke Truly, Sir, I do take you in my arms, and truly I blesse God for it, I do not fear, I have an assurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart,) now that gives me more true joy than ever I had, I passe out of a miserable world to go into an Eternal and glorious Kingdome ; and Sir, though I have been a most sinfull creature ; yet Gods mercy I know is infinite, and I blesse God for it, I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the man that I have personally injured.

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D. Sibbald

D. Sibbald, My Lord, it is a marvellous great satisfaction that at this last hour you can say so. I beseech the Lord for his eternal mercy strengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Armes of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your soul.

Then the Earl of Cambridg embracing those his Servants which were there present, said to each of them You have been very faithfull to me, and the Lord bless you.

Duke. Then turning to the Executioner said, I shall say a very short Prayer to my God, while I lye down there; and when I stretch out my hand (my right hand) then Sir, do your Duty; and I do freely forgive you, and so I do all the world.

D. Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy — along with You, & bring You to the possession of everlasting life, strengthening Your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is a passage, My Lord, a short passage unto eternal glory, I hope through the free grace of Your gracious God. You are now able to say, O Death where is thy sting, O Grave where is thy Victory; and to make this comfortable answer, Blessed be God, Blessed be God, who hath given me an assurance of victory through Christ Jesus.

Then the Earl of Cambridge said to the Executioner, Must I ly along?

Execu. Yes, and't please your Lordship.

Duke. VVhen I stretch forth my hand — but I will fit my head, first tell me, if I be right, and how you would have me lye.

Execu. Your shirt must be pinned back, for it lyes too high upon your shoulders, (which was done accordingly).

Dr.

D. sabbald, My Lord Now lift up Your eyes, now
unto Jesus Christ, and cast Your self now into the everlasting
Armes of Your gracious Redeemer.

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block
said, Is this right :

D. sabbald Iesus the Son of David have mercy upon Your son L.
Execut. Lie a little lower. Sir.

Duk. Well, Stay then till I give you the signe. And so
having laid a short space devoutly praying to himself he
stretched out his right hand whereupon the Executioner
at one blow severed his head from his body, which was
received by 2. of his servants then kneeling by him, in-
to a Crimson Taffatty Scarf, and that with the body
immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold
for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house
that was Sir. John Hamiltons at the Mews,

This execution being done the Sheriffs Guard went
immediatly to meet the Earl of Holland, which they did in
the mid-way between the Scaffold and westminster-
Hall, and the Under Sheriffs son having received him
into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he ta-
king M Bolton all the way in his hand passed all along to
to the Scaffold discoursing together, upon which being
come, observing his voice would not reach to the people
in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold he
said ;

The



Hen. Rich Earle of Holland, Ba:
of Kensington, & Lo: Generall. &c

PSent exaudir

HISENB

MULTIPLI

COHTUBO

The Earl of Holland riseth at Kingston with other Noblemen on behalf of the King then a Prisoner; defeated there, flies to St. Neots, where he is taken, he is therefore condemned before the H.C. of Justice, and beheaded in the Pallace-yard at Westminster, March 9. 1644.

THis Nobleman had a time served the Parliament in the beginning of the War, and afterwards deserted them, but finding cool respect at Court upon his comming thither, returned to London again: where after the Warre was ended, the whole Nation being dis-satisfied with the delays of the the Parliament in settling the Kingdome; he was induced to engage in the design of restoring the King the same time that the aforesaid Duke Hamilton was entred England,

After

After the murder of the King they proceeded in their way of Justice with these Noble persons. This Earl, for all his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had done them such great service by Sea against the King in keeping the fleet from turning to the Prince of *Wales*, then riding Admiral at Sea in the Dowry could not be exempted from their cruelty : but partly to reckon with him for his first forlorn in going to *Oxford*, onely by his Example to deter others though never so great assisted by patient friends to abet the Kings cause, and Thirdly to shew their absoluteness over the lives of all men, notwithstanding the most powerful intercessions : He was condemned by the High Court of Justice to be beheaded which was executed in the place at the time aforesaid.

His S P E E C H at his Execution was as followeth,

Henry

Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Hol-
land, His Speech on the Scaffold, im-
mediately before his death, March 9.

Holland.

IT is to no purpose (I think) to speake any thing here
which way must I speake ; And then being directed to
to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rales)
said : I think it is fit to say something, since God hath
called me to this place. The first thing which I must
professe, is, what concerns my Religion, in the which I
have been bred, in the which I have lived, and the which
by Gods grace and mercy I shall dye. I have not lived
according to that Education I had in that family where
I was bred and born. I hope God will forgive me my
sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring
me to this place, for the sins that I have committed. The
cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many
hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that
I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdome.
Truly I look upon it as a judgment and a just judgement
of God, not but I have offended so much the State and
the Kingdome, and the Parliament, as that I have had
no extream vanity in serving them very extraordinari-
ly. For those Actions that I have done, I think they have
gone on courageously though at last defeated, & in ano-
ther

their posture then they were when I was engaged
 with the Parliament. I have never gone off from
 those principles that ever I have professed: I have lived
 in them, and by Gods grace will dye in them. There
 may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them
 further than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left
 them: but there hath been nothing that I have said or
 done, or professed, either by Covenant or Declaration,
 which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon
 the principles that I ever have gone upon; which was to
 serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have
 said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek,
 the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no
 improper times, being prest out by Accidents and Circum-
 stances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I
 thought was proper, since there was something then in A-
 gitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions
 to the King: that was the furthest aim that I had, and
 truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And
 God be Praised, although my blood comes to be shed
 here, there was I think scarce a drop of blood shed in that
 action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs as
 they are I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly
 they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body
 can make a Judgement of them; and therefore I must
 make use of prayers; rather then of my Opinion; which
 are, That God would bless this Kingdome, this Nation
 this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to
 what this Kingdome hath been happily governed un-
 der by a King, by the Lord, by the Commons; a Go-
 verment that I conceive it hath flourished much under
 and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a pre-
 judice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary.
 I look upon the posterity of the King, and truly my con-
 science directs me to it, to desire that if God be pleased,
 that these people may look upon them with that affecti-
 on that they owe, that they may be called in again, and
 they may be, not through blood nor through disorder,
 admitted again into that power, and to that glorie, that
 God in their birth intended to them. I shall pray with
 all

all my heart, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindness & their affection, that I have found from them. * I have said what Religion I have ** looking toward* been bred in, what Religion I have been *M. Bol.* born in, what Religion I have practised. I began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told you likewise that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may say so, I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulness to this Kingdom and to this State. I have endeavoured to do those actions that become an honest man, and a good Englishman, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have been in persecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have their prayers and their kindness now in this distress and in this condition, and I think it a great reward. I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my prayers, to give me faith to trust in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a passage to an eternal life through Jesus Christ, which I trust to, which I rely upon and which I expect by the mercy of God. And so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last execution, and the last blood that is likely to be spilt among you. And then turning to the side-ray, he prayed for a good space of time; after which Mr. Bolton said.

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have trusted, My Lord, I hope that here is your last prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praises; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that shall never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of this day. My Lord, You know where our fulness lies where our riches lye, where is your onely rock to anchor on you know there is fulness in Christ: If the Lord comes not in with fulness of comfort to you, yet resolve to wait upon him while you live, and to trust in him when you die; and say, I will die here, I

will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly he that came to seek and save lost sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him; He that intreated us to come, will not sleight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope exercise these Graces now, there will be no exercise hereafter. As your Lordship said, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a farewell of Repentance and all these; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all eternity; and so it will be an happy passage then, if it be a passage here from misery to happiness. And though it be but a sad way, yet, if it will bring you into the presence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a shadow of death, yet if God will please to bring you, and make it a passage to that happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taste some sweetness and love in this bitter Potion, and to see something of mercy and goodness to you, and shew you some sign and tokens of Good, so that your soul may see that which we have had already experience of (blessed be God for it) many experiences, many expressions, not onely in words, nor tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) You that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope You want none your self, but that the Lord will be pleased to support You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence; there is reliance, my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but my resting and relying upon him; when the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossing, but there is safety; nothing shall interrupt safety, although something may interrupt security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not; and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fix-
edness

edness in him. And the Lord of Heaven be the strength, sta-
and support of Your soul, and the Lord furnish You with all
these graces which may carry you into the bosom of the Lord
Jesus that when You expire this life, You may be able to ex-
pire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all Eternity;
and that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. M. Bolton, God hath given me long time
in this world; he hath carried me through many great
accidents of Fortune, he hath at last brought me down
into a condition, where I finde my self brought to an
end, for a dis-affectiō to this State, to this Parlia-
ment, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in
the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for
that cause; I look upon it as a great judgement of God
for my sins. And truly, Sir, since that the death is vio-
lent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those
violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my
Saviour, that hath shewed us the way, how and in
what manner he hath done it, and for what cause, I am
the more comforted, I am the more rejoiced. It is not
long since the King my master passed in the same man-
ner; and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions
were such, as a man may not be ashamed not onely
to follow him in the way that was taken with him
but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had
given him life. I have often disputed with him con-
cerning many things of this kinde, and I conceive
his sufferings, and his better knowledge, and better
understanding (if God had spared him life) might
have made him a Prince very happy towards himself,
and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have seen and
known that those blessed souls in heaven have passed
thither by the gate of sorrow, and many by the gate
of violence; and since it is Gods pleasure to dispose of
me this way, I submit my soul to him, with all com-
fort, and that with all hope, that he hath made this my
end, and this consolusion, that though I be low in death,
yet nevertheless this lowness shall raise me to the high-
est glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the people concerning the peculiar Actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were something of vanity (me thinks) to take notice of them here: I le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosome, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice or bloodshed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some liberties they had conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto is this: That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truely I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ: for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners; my life hath been a vanity and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sin I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the iniquities that I have

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committed in the Way of my Life, I looke upon this as a great Justice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this punishment; And those Hands that have been active in it, if any such there hath been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many such Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I said before) the last Shew, that this People shall see of the Blood of Persons of Condition, of Persons of Honour: I might say something of the way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been seen in this Kingdom, but because that I would not seem as if I made some complaint I will not so much as mention it, because no body shall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God by whom I fall: I take it entirely from him, I submit myself to him, I desire to rout my self into the Arms of my blessed Saviour; when I come to this place, when

*Pointing to the Block. I bow down my self here, I hope God will raise me up; and when I bid farewell, as I must now to Hope and to

Faith, that Love will abide; I know now nothing to accompany the soul out of this World but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms Meditation, and the Mercy of my Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

Hedges. The Lord make over unto You The righteousness of his own Son, it is that Treasury that he hath bestowed upon You; and the Lord shew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much hast as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; I looke upon my self entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for

Uncleanness, my soul must receive it, for did I rest in any thing else. I have nothing but sin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which in stead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell,

Belton. But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in your self: The Apostle saith. *I desire not to be found in my own righteousness,* and when you are clothed with another, the Lord will own you, and I shall say but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny salvation to sinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and sufferings was the salvation of sinners; when as I say the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his counsells, and infinite wisdom and mercy, and goodness, beyond which there was a *Non ultra* in Gods thoughts, when this was the great design, and great end, the salvation of poor sinners, that poor souls should come over to him and live; certainly when sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse. And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greatest work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them; for none, it was in vain else: You see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and should he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and sufferings of the Lord Jesus; and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody sweat, sweating drops of blood. if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God, and me together

together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul: Would see not have said yea? and surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my Lord; think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost; I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so; as bad as God will make me: and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be: but when I have said all; the more I advance then riches; and honour that grace of God and why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: And this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself, if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, My Lord, that fulness be your comfort, that fulness of Mercy, that fulness of Love, that fulness of Righteousness and power to be now your riches, and your onely stay and the Lord interpose himself between God and you as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul: so I doubt not there he stand (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self; yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knowes what you would desire, and wait upon him while you livest trust in him when you die, there is riches enough, and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his door, say there I'll die; there is mercy enough.

Holland

Holland And here is the place whetein I lye down before him from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy; into his arms I commend my spirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that must lye upon this place, he will receive that soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternall mercy, through the merits, through the worthineis, through the Mediation of Christ that hath purchased it with his own precious blood.

Bolton. My Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodnesse of God; and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the rise of Glory, if God please to throw you down here, to raise you up for ever, say, Welcome Lord, welcome that death that shall make way for life, and welcome any condition that shall throw me down here to bring me into the possession of Jesus Christ.

Hodges. My Lord, if you have made a deed of gift of your self to Jesus Christ, to be found onely in him; I am confident you shall stand at the day of Christ, my dear Lord, we shall meet in happinesse.

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my soul, my soul hungers and thirsts after him. Clouds are gathering, and I trust in God through all my heavinesse, and I hope through all impediments, he will settle my interest in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my soul in despite of all calumnies, and all that the Devill and Satan can invent, will carry it into Eternal mercy, there to receive the blessednesse of his presence to all Eternity.

Hodges *My Lord it was his by Creation, it is his own by redemption and purchase; it is likewise his own by resignation; O my Lord look therefore to the Lamb of God that sits at the right hand of God to take away the sins of the world, O that lamb of God!*

Holland. *That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my soul: and that Lamb of God, that sits upon the Throne to judge that 24. that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trusts upon his Mercy and compassion, and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.*

Bolton. *My Lord think of this, there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? it is Christ that justifies: And therefore look upon this (My Lord) upon this Christ that justifies: Hell, Death, Sin, Satan; nothing shall be able to condemn, it is Christ that justifies you.*

Holland. *Indeed if Christ justify, no body can condemn, and I trust in God, in his justification, though there is a confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and stirring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my soul.*

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord, but as you are a Spectacle of pity here, so you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland. *Then the Earl of Holland looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, said, This honest man took me a prisoner, you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I delivered my self to you upon conditions; and espying Captain Watson on horse-back, putting off his hat said to him, God bee with you Sir, God reward you Sir.*

Bolton

Bolton. My Lord, throw your selfe into the arms of mercy, and say, there I will Anchor, and there I will dye, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whether shall we go? he hath the words of Eternall life: and upon him do you rest, wait while you live and ever trust in death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my Anchor: and but in storms nobody trusts to his Anchor; and therefore I must trust upon my Anchor (upon that God, said Mr. Bolton, upon whom your Anchor trusts) yea, God I hope will Anchor my soul fast upon Christ Jesus; and if I dye not with that clearness and that heartiness that you speak of, truly, I will trust in God, though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt: they shall never go a begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of Holland speaking to Mr. Hodges, said, I pray God reward you for all your kindnesse, and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with faithfulness and holiness, with more diligence, then truly I have been carefull to presse them unto; you have the charge of the same place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindnesse, and the goodnesse of your Conscience.

Dr. Sibbald standing upon the Scaffold, in his passage to Colonell Beecher expressed himselfe thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you and you shall be safe.

Holland. Then the Earl of Holland embraced Lieutenant Colonell Beecher, and took his leave of him: After which he came to Mr. Bolton, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosome, Mr. Bolton said to him, The Lord God support you, and be
seen

zen in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your death the passage unto Eternal life---

Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner said, here, my friend, let my cloaths and my body alone, there is 10. pounds for thee, that is better then my cloaths I am sure of it,

Execut. Will your Lordship be pleased to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And when his Lordship, said, you have roome enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.

Bolton, The Lord be your strength, there is Riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himselfe to you, he is able to save to the uttermost; We cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.

Holland. Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner, said Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest fellow; and then said stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgivenesse, and then prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestnesse.

Bolton, The Lord grant you may find life in death.

Holland VVhich is the way of lying? (which they shewed him) & then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such accident as may bring you to any death is violent, either by VVar or by these accidents, but that there may be peace among you, and you may find that these accidents that have happed to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom; it is that I desire. that I beg of God next the saving of my soule I pray God give all happinesse to this Kingdom, to this people and this Nation and then turning to the Executioner, said, how must I lie? I know not.

Execu-

Execu. Lye down flat up on your belly : and then having laid himself down, he said must I lye closer ?

Execu. Yes, and backward.

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike : and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his head, said where is the man ? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said stay while I give the sign : and presently after stretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, now, now, and just as the words were coming out of his mouth : the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Here followeth the SPEECH
of Arthur Lord Capell, at his Execution on the Scaffold.

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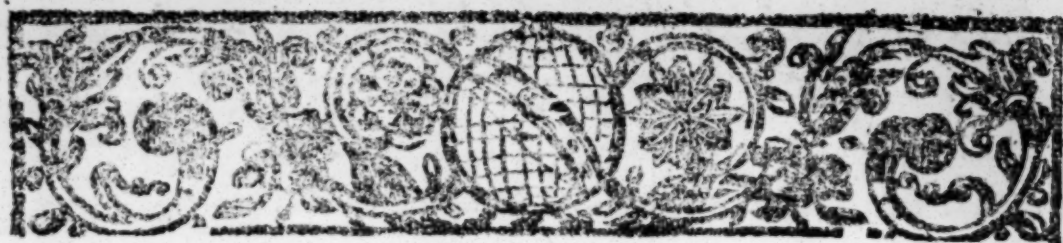
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Arthur Lord Capell having served the King throughout the War, upon my Lord Hoptons Articles in Cornwall, comes home to his House in Hertfordshire; upon the joyning of the Kentish and Essex Forces, upon the account of restoring the King; meets them at Colchester; where, upon the Delivery of that Town, hee had Quarter for life promised by the Generall, notwithstanding, which he is Sentenced by the H. C. of Justice, and is beheaded in the Pallace-Yard Westminster, March 9, 1648.

THis Noble Lord had deserved so well of the King and Kingdome by his constant Loyalty, to the endangering his life, and a very large Estate; that he could not but merit ill at the hands of those bloody Rebels, who without scruple or consideration condemned all that for that glorious Cause had fell into their clutches.

But more especially did they revenge themselves upon this personage, because he had been privy Counsellour to the Prince then King our now Sovereign: that they might wreak their fury upon some of his nearest Ministers, he being himself out of their reach; This Lord had endeavoured to escape, but by his too easie confidence, discoursing with a Waterman that carried him over the Thames, was betrayed and taken by him at *Lambeth*, The Fellow yet survives to the shame, spight and sorrow of himselfe, and the hatred and detestation of all men. My Lord at his Tryall made a gallant Defence, pretending the Law and Protection of the Sword given him at *Colchester*: after hee found he could not have the benefit of the Law of the Land (to wit) His Tryall by his Peers, which hee stoutly and peremptorily insisted on; to the refuting and baffling of the pretended jurisdiction and authority of their High Court. But the Generall waving his Engagement for the one, and the High Court maintaining the other, viz. Their power of trial, he was at length sentenced there to be beheaded, which accordingly was executed at the same place and time as before, where he spake this plain resolute English speech as followeth, &c.

Arthur



*Arthur Lord Capell, his Speech
on the Scaffold immediately be-
fore his death, March the 9. 1649.*

*The Execution of the Lord of Hol-
land being thus performed, the Lord Ca-
pell was brought to the Scaffold, he put
off his Hat to the people on both sides,
looking very austerely about him, and
being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut. Col.
Beecher said to him Is your Chaplain
here ?*

*C*apell. No, I have taken my leave of him : and per-
ceiving some of his servants to weep, he said, Gen-
tlemen, refrain your selves, refrain your selves ; and turn-
ing to Lieut. Col. Beecher, he said, what ? did the
Lords speak with their hats off, or no ?

*Col. Beech. With their hats off : and then coming to the
front of the Scaffold, he said, I shall hardly be understood here I
think, and then began his Speech as followeth.*

Capel. The conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the cause of this violent death of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you: When I made an address to them (which was the last) told them with much sincerity; that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his inestimable and boundles mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly I still pray that prayer, and I beseech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my soul I wish it. And truly, this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian. But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, that I am a Protestant? And truly, I am a Protestant, and very very much in love with the profession of it; after the manner as is was established in England by the thirty nine Articles, a blessed way of profession, and such an one as truly, I never knew none so good. I am so far from being a Papist, which some body have (truly) very unworthily at some time charged me withall, that truly, I profess to you, though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing to at all to do in the matter of salvation, my Anchor-hold is this; *That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me; that is that I rest upon,*

And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that consideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the whole World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, because in another place I have spoken verie largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I used in that case: But truly; that, that is stranger, you that are English-men, behold here an English man here before you, and acknowledged a Peer, nor condemned to die by any Law of England not by any Law of England; nay shall I tell you more; (which is strongest of all) contrary to all the Lawes of England that I know of: And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civill part of my death, and the cause

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that

that I have maintained, I die (I take it for maintaining
the fifth Commandement, enjoyned by God himself,
which enjoyns reverence and obedience to Parents:
All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one
another in many several opinions, yet all Divines on
all hands do acknowledge, that here is intended Magi-
stracy and Order; and certainly I have obeyed that
Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived,
which I was bound to obey: and truly, I do say very
confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obey-
ing that fifth Commandement given by God himself,
and written with his own fingers. And now, Gentle-
men, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I
cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity then
his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust judge-
ment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an un-
just judgement.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be
glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may
take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God
Almighty for it, I do here protest to you, that I did
give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *strafford*.
I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away
with a more precious blood, the blood of his own
Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope
he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of
it: truly this I may say, I had not the least part nor de-
gree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again
to Gods glory, and the accusation of mine own frail-
ty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was un-
worthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torment as
carried that business at that time. And truly, this I
think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it,
but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD
I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the assu-
rance of it, that Christ Jesus his blood hath washed
it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wish, that all
men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent,
and receive a remission and pardon from God for it.
And now Gentlemen, we have had an occasion by this
intimation to remember his Majesty, our KING
that

that last was; and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I must needs say, that in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of all the greatest and vertuousest Princes in the world; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and a more sufficient Prince known in the World, then our gracious King: *CHARLES* that died last: God Almighty preserve our King that now is, his Son; God send him more fortunate and longer dayes; God Almighty to resist him, that he may exceed both the vertues and sufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Councellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years of age) those years I was with him, truly, I never saw greater hopes of vertue in any young person then in him; great judgement, great understanding, great apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishman in his inclination; and I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and send a great happiness both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is consumed: I beseech God of his mercy give much happiness to this your King, and to you that in it shall be his Subjects by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy, to those that are the causers of my coming hither, and I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truly I will not say, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of Heaven bless you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodnesse and mercy to you, and direct you

in those waies of obedience to his commands, to his Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient people. God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner; (who was gone of the Scaffold) said which is the Gentleman? which is the man; Answer was made, he is coming; He then said, Stay, I must pull off my Doublet first, and my waistcoat; and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord Capel said, O friend I prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord Capel said, I forgive thee from my soul, and not onely forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully recompenced: but I desire my bodie may not be stripped here, and no body to take notice of my bodie but my own servants Look you friends this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular short prayer.

Lieu. Col. Beecher, Make your own sign my Lord.

Capel. Stay a little; Which side do you stand upon? (speaking to the Executioner;) Stay, I think I should lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and answer being made, Yes; he stood still a little while, and then said, God Almighty bless all this people, God Almighty stench this blood, God Almighty stench, stench, stench this issue of bloods this will not do the businesse God Almighty finde out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his servants, said, *Baldwin*, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my wife: but I must desire thee and beseech her to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ to be contented and fully satisfied: & then speaking to his servants, he said, God keep you, and Gentlemen, let me now do a business quicklie, privatelie, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my soul.

L. Col,

L. Col. Beecher I wish it.

Capel. Pray at the moment of striking joyn your prayers, but make no noise (turning to his servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

servant. My Lord put on your cap,

Capel, Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair,*

And then turning to the Executioner, he said, honest man I have forgiven thee therefore strike boldly; from my soul do it.

Then a Gentleman speaking to him he said, Nay prethee be contented be quiet, good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to Executioner, he said, VVell, you are ready when I am ready, are you not: and stretching out his hands he said, Then pray stand off Gentlemen, Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to aske it of you, That you would all joyn in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my soul, and that for his alone mercies in Christ Jesus God almighty keep you all.

Execut. My Lord shall I put up your haire;

Capel, I, I, prethee do; and then as he stood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he said, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart submit to thy will: O God I do most willingly humble, my self: and then kneeling down, said, I wil try first how I can lye; and laying his head over the block, said, Am I well now;

Execut. Yes.

And then as lay with both his hands stretched out, he said to the Executioner. Here lie both my hands, and when I lift up my hands thus (*lifting up his right hand*) then you may strike

And then after he had said a short prayer he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body; which was taken up by his servants, and put (with his body) into a coffin as the former.



*A Relation, together, with the Speech of
Col. John Morris, lately Governour
of Pomfret Castle, at the place of his
Execution at York, Aug 23. 1649.*

WHen he was brought out of prison, looking up on the Sledge that was there set for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breast, he said, I am as willing to go to my death as to put off my doublet to go to bed. I despise the shame as well as the Cross, I know I am going to a joyful place. with many like expressions.

When the Post met him about St. James Church, that was sent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprieve; and told him he could not prevail in it, he said, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well assured to find a better pardon then any they can give, my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of Execution, he made his profession of his faith, his breeding, his cause he had fought in.

Gentlemen, first I was bred up in the true Protestant Religion, having my education and breeding from that honoured house my Dear Lord and Master Strafford, which place I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it, much doubt, better then any will be after it; unless please God to put a period to these distracted times. this Faith and Religion, I say, I have been bred in and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the least wavering, and now I am resolved by Gods assistance to die in.

Those pains are nothing, if compared to those do-
lours and pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour has
suffered

suffered for us; when in a bloody sweat he endured the wrath of God, the pain of hell, and the cursed and shameful death which was due to our sins, therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous punishment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed Saints with Christ in heaven: It is the Lords affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? and what shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil; And though I desire, as I am carnal, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin, so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry, or pain, for God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes; by death our souls shall be delivered from thralldom, and this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption; the soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God, everlasting bliss and glory; it takes us from the misery of this world, and society of sinners, to the city of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem.

I bless God I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a cause; and if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cause of my King, the Lords Anointed: the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be subject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supream, or to those that are in authority under him: I have been always faithful to my Trust: and though I have been most basely accused for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witness it is a most false aspersion, for I was then sick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers' and Souldiers had done it without my consent, and then I was carried prisoner to *Sr. John Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into

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the Country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home I was perswaded by Colonel Forbes Colonel Overton, Lieut. Col. Fairfax, whom I took for my good friends to march in their Troops; which I did but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was and so I did; and I pray God to turn the heart of all Souldiers to their lawfull Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do, and though thou kil me, yet wil I put my trust in thee where fore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me Then he took his Bible, and read divers Psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers some publiquely and some privately; the publick was this which follows;

His PRAYER.

Welcome blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sins the bound of my Travels the Goal of my race, and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weaknesse, I have finished my course though in great faintnesse and the Crown of my joy is, that through the strength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King; the Lords Anointed's cause without any wavering for which and in which I dye; I do willingly resigne my flesh, I despise the World and I despise the Devill who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope Lord Jesus is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest. and that thou wilt immediately receive my soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes, and none other; And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit my self wholly to thy will, I commit my selfe to thee as my faithfull Redeemer, who

who hast bought it with thy most pretious blood. I confesse to all the World, I know no name under Heaven by which I may be saved but thine my Jesus, my Saviour. I renounce all confidence in any merits save thine. I thankfully acknowledgeth thy blessings, I unfained bewail all my sins, I stedfastly believe all thy promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comfort, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly; Lord Jesus receive my spirit.

The private were to himselfe, his hat being before his eyes: he put up divers short ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast Redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth, Lord Jesus receive my spirit, and many of the like, and so he yielded to death.

Here followeth the S P E E C H of

Cornet Michael Blackburn immediately before his death



*The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburn, immediately before his death;
Aug, 23. 1649.*

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of honest quality and condition, I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that I have lived and in that I now dye. I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful service according to my duty and the dictate of my Conscience I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have always been faithful to him, and wish I could have done him more: and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdome should have the boldnesse or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and as good right and Title to by his birth-right, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: I pray God blesse him, forgive all my enemies; and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

*The Speech of Col. Eusebius Andrews,
immediately before his Execution on the Scaf-
fold on Tower-Hill, on Thursday August 22.
1650. being attended on by Dr. Swadling.*

AS soon as he came upon the Scaffold, kissing the block he said, I hope there is no more but this block between me and Heaven ; and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I hope I shall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he speaks to the people as followeth : Christian Gentlemen and People, Your business hither to day is to see a sad spectacle, a man to be in a moment unnamed and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either unto himself, his friends, the *Common-Wealth*, or especially to God ; it seldome happens but upon very good cause. and though truly, if my generall known course of life were but enquired into, I may modestly say there is such a moral honesty upon it, as some may be so sawcy as to expostulate why this great judgement is fallen upon me ; but know, I am able to give them and my self an answer, and out of this breast am able to give a better account of my judgement and Execution then my Judges themselves, or you are able to give ; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of, many Judgements withstood, and mercies sleighted : therefore God hath whipped me by his severe rod of correction, that he might not lose me ; I pray join with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard since my sentence, there

is more exception made against proceedings against me then ever I made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indisputable, and for me to make a question of it, I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictnesse of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable: the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false, yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to Legall justice, for equity lyeth in high-breasts.

As for my accusers, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am sorrie for them, they have committed *Judas* his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape *Judas* his punishment, and I wish other people so happie; they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more blood of Christian men possibly then my self.

It is true there haue been severall Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my one sin. & seeing God sees it fit (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death; which I am contented to do. I profess in the face of God particular malice to any one of State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For the Cause in which I had long waded, I must needs say, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my conscience; it was in principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I professe, and and on principles of Religion, my Judgement satisfied, and conscience rectified, that I have pursued those ways which I blesse God I find no blacknesse upon my Conscience nor have I put in o my bed-roll of my sins.

I will not presume to decide such controversies; I desire God to honour himselfe in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shal enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all

yond all proceſſe here: in my converſation in the world I do not know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon with whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot collect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, as freely as if I had named them by name. I freely forgive them being in free peace with all the VVorld, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake to be at peace with me. For the buſi- neſſe of death, it is a ſad ſentence in it ſelf, if men con- ſult with fleſh and blood; But truly without boaiſting, I ſay it, or if I do boaiſt, I boaiſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one conſultation with the fleſh a- bout the bloud of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my paſſ port to *Glory*.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſſe to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place. however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, answerable to my birth and qualification, and this cour- teſie of theirs much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall deſire God that thoſe *Gentlemen* in that ſad beadrol to be tried by the High Court of *Justice*; that they may find that really there that is nominal in the *Actian* High Court of *Justice*, a Court of high *Justice*, high in its righteouſneſſe, though not in its ſeverity, *Fa- ther forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers, to help thoſe *Angels* that are to convey my ſoul to *Heaven*, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another *Mr.* whom I much honoured; my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to ſee my *Chriſt* in the preſence of of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all; and my ſelf there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Dr. Swadling, (he being upon the Scaffold) spake as followeth to the Colonell.

You have this morning in the presence of a few, given some account of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith, charity and repentance.

To those on the Scaffold; If you please to hear the same questions asked here, you shall, that it may be a general testimony to you all, that he dyed in the favour of God.

To the Colonell. Now Sir, I being to deal with you, do you acknowledge that this stroke you are to suffer is a just punishment laid upon you by God for your former sins?

Col. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confesse it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God any more, then by taking shame upon my self, and I have a reason of the Justice of God in my own bosome, which I have put to your bosome.

Dr. You acknowledge that you deserve more then this stroke of the Axe, and that a far greater misery is due to you, even the pains and torments of hell that the damned there endure?

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgement, but I know again, I have a satisfaction made by my elder brother Iesus Christ, and then I say it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quietted by his Righteousnesse.

Dr. Do you believe to be saved by that Mediator and none other?

Col. By that and only that, renouncing all secondarie causes whatsoever.

Dr. Are you trulie and unfainedlie sorrie before God, as you appear to us, for all those sins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am sorrie and can never be sorrowfull enough and am sorrie I can be no more sorry.

Dr. If God should by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God should as he did to Ezechiah, renew your daies, what life do you resolve to lead hereafter?

Col. It is a question of great length, and requires a great time to answer. Men in such straits would promise great things; but I would first call some friends to limit how farre I should make a vow that I might not make a rash one, and to offer the sacrifice of fools; but a vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Dr. Do you wish health and happinesse upon all lawfull Authorities and government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawfull government, and the adventuring against them is sinfull, and I do not justifie my selfe, what ever my judgement be, for my thus venturing against the present Governement; I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it must stand.

Dr. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the VVorld freely, and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Dr. You have for some late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in those parts where you had your residence. I have nothing to accuse you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet possibly there might be some wrong done by your Officers, or those under you to some particular men: If you had your Estate in your hands, would make restitution?

Col. The wrongs themselves you bring to my mind are not great nor many; some things of no great moment, but such as they are, my desire is to make restitution, but have not wherewithal.

Dr. If you had ability, would you likewise leave a Legacy of thankfulness to Almighty God, something to his poor Servants; to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better then my ability that way.

Doctor. Sir, I shall trouble you very little further. I thank you for all those Heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your companie these three daies, and trulie am very sorry I must part with so hea-

venie

venly an associate. We have known one another heretofore, but never so Christian like before; I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, then an instructor: I wish this Stage wherein you are made a spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all above you; for though I will not diminish your sins, nor shall I conceal, nor hypocrite my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my self, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have, if we consider things well. and I only wish them your repentance, and that measure of Faith God hath given you. and that measure of courage you have attained from God, and that constant perseverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. turning himself again to the people, spake as followeth.

One thing more I desire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies when the distractions in RELIGION first sprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the Roman, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of faith, and very much as to their Discipline. The Religion which I profess, is that which passeth under the name of Protestant though that be rather a name of distinction, then properly essentiall to Religion, But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the errors of Rome in Reign of Edward the 6th. practized in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles, that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick, though not the Roman Catholick Religion: in the profession and practice whereof, I will live and die; that for my Religion. Then he turned himself unto the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee, thou

thou art not the hand that throws the stone; I am not of such an Estate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

Exc. Your hair to be turned up. Col. Shew me how to fit my self upon the block. After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned to the people and prayed a good while; Before he laid down upon the Block, he spake unto the people, viz.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath something of pity in it; and may that mercy that is in your hearts fall into your bosomes, when you have need of it, and may you never find such blocks of sin to stand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beseech you join with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had some private conference with Dr. Swadling; then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs and acquaintance, saluting them with a courteous valediction, he prepared himself for the Block, kneeling down, said, let me try the Block, which he did: after casting his eyes up, and fixing them very intently upon Heaven, he said, when I say Lord Jesus receive my soul Executioner do thine Office, then kissing the Axe he lay down, and with as much undaunted, yet Christian courage as possibly could as be in man did he expose his throat to the fatal Axe, his life to the Executioner, and comended his soul into the hands of a merciful Creator, through the meritorious passion of a gracious Redeemer; saying the forementioned words, his head was smitten off at one blow.

Sir Henry Hides Speech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution, March 4, 1650.

REader, Take notice, that this Speech following is published in those very Words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be some abrupt breaking off, and other expressions not so smooth as might have been, yet I could not with honesty alter a Word; and therefore have I tyed my selfe to his own Expressions, that I may neither abuse the World, the dying man or my self.

THE Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London, and also in his company one of his Servants, and Dr. Hide.

Sir Hen. Hide. **I** Am come to put in practice the Christian Profession, and as I owe a death to nature and sin, now I pay it upon the score of grace.

Dr. Hide, Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it; God hath and will enable you.

Sir Henry Hide Looking round on the people he said a populous City, God blesse it, and grant they may live to his grace. Then turning to his Man, he said, John, I pray now though I have not been a hood Mr. to you be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind John; have you my things about you John?

Then staying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he said, I had rather have my Servants then Strangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he said pray

pray Sir rejoyce with me; I thank Almighty God, I am brought hither to suffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower, I am glad you are so comforted; Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. Hide. If God call me to him, and I glorifie him it is well: I seeke only the company of your Christian prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower, I shall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, my Kinsman is of no use, you may be usefull about my body. I hope Mr. Sheriffe that you'll give order I may have a little more Room here.

Sheriffe Yes, Sr.

Sir H. Hide. And likewise for liberty of speech, and that it will please you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of England) that I may speak my own sence (I am now going into the presence of Almighty God) a very little, without any disturbance.

Sheriffe Why Sir, you shall.

Sir H. Hide. John, where is my Coffin?

John it is here Sir.

Sher. Sr It seems these men cannot be found.

Sir H. Hide. But if Mr. Barret could be found. After some stay Mr. Barret being not found, the Sheriffe spake to him, saying

Sher. You have your liberty you know your time.

Sir H. Hide. Where is the place of standing, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry)

Sb. Which way you please; you may stand which way you will, but that way you must lye, (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir H. Hide I am indifferent: it is not the way to heaven where a man stands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir H. Hide That is no hinderance to my felicity

Dr. Hide God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy

Name ; he will not forsake you that have put your trust in him.

Sir H. Hide, I will open my heart and my mouth with thanksgiving (if this Gentleman please to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultery, he put off his Hat, and said, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, good will to men.*

Christian People, I come hither to dye; I am brought hither to dye : and that I may dye Christian-like, I humbly beseech the assistance of your Christian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my passage may be the more easie ; yet because men in that condition, which it pleased God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches in the discharge of my Duty towards God, I shall use a few words, and so dispatch.

I pray all of you join with me to praise this Almighty God, to whom I render all hearty thanks : as for all his mercies, so in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither ; That whereas I owe a duty to God and Nature, I can pay it upon the account of grace. And because it is fit to render an account of that hope that is in me, I shall tell you, to the praise of Almighty God, that I born and have been bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of England, I have no negative Religion believing to be saved by the only merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ (putting off his hat) and whatsoever else I profess in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England authorized by Law ; humbly beseeching Almighty God to restore unto this Church her peace, Prosperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my hope being confident, and my Faith perfected ; there remains only Christian Charity, Charity we carry into heaven, charity on Earth, & that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomsoever ; Blessing Almighty God for the happy advantage hee takes

ring me nearer to heaven; blessing Almighty God
 that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been
 merciful to me before the foundation of the World,
 in my Saviour; so that now he hath in mercy honou-
 red me, with suffering for his Name, in obedience to
 his Commandement.

On this day seven night I was summon'd before
 that Justice, which condemned me (on Friday last,
 praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath
 brought me the nearer to himself (*putting off his hat*)
 My Charge I presume is publick, as my punishment
 is visible: if there have been any thing in the manage-
 ment of my part, being unskilful, having discontinued
 my own Country many years, I shall beseech the Chri-
 stian charity of all you my beloved Countrymen, to
 impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in
 this skilful way of managing: It was objected unto
 me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in strange
 Tongue. I was best skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from
 that vanity. I thank Almighty God) and therefore I
 would in defence of my life (if it had been the Custom
 here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected. That I did not so freely as a tho-
 row-paced Cavalier, own my Master. I was told since
 I came into England (for other skill I have not in your
 Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable;
 I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing,
 for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving
 so good, so pious, so just a Master (*putting off his hat*)
 for that I therein rejoyce; and I humbly beseech Al-
 mighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all
 that hear me this day with thankfulness for it.

As to the business, that another construction had
 been made and believed here, then what was there, the
 righteous God knoweth it: if any weakness was in the
 management, that was mine: I was sent to serve and
 protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of
 the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any
 manner of evil that way, however here understood,
 blessed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) so those

Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would seriously consider, for they know it very well, the impossibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embassie objected against me, that my Master never honoured me withal I was never worthy of it, I was his Messenger, an *Internuncio* for the conservation onely of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until such time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Resident, or to send any other; and they themselves know that there was impossibility in me, (as I bleſs God there was an innocency in me) unto any such intention to do them any harm; for my Master Commands were point-blank the contrary I was onely sent for their good: as I never owned the Title, so the very Letters themselves speaking no other:—I never did so much as think of any manner of Address unto the *Grand Seignour*, but gave him the Letter from my Master; the rest of the English Nation that were there present, may, when they please, asſert so much. This I would infer, that those Gentlemen, as they have been losers by the miscarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it seems it is now in this Countrey, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmless employment, not invading any, according to his just Masters Order; for indeed I have been always bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the service due from me to Almighty God to serve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the present things in England, for were (as I spake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made black, it were impossible for me to have prejudiced any body in England, or to England belonging in that employment: but I bleſs God for his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the best Physick for the curing of my Soul, and those that have done it, have no more power in

in then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me but that I am willing to part withal, all that I am going to is desiræable : And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Denial of my self, & that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his Mercy in Jesus Christ, not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any such be in the V World, here or wheresoever) but to bring him into his holome so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evil, for I take him to be the happy instrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bless Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *speaking to somewhat prest upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable hearts. I have been troublesome,

Sheriff. *You have your liberty to speak more, if you please.*

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that part, Master Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirmed my Master Attorney General) of my Masters employment. Truly landing at Whitehall, I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have by me; and I have other good things that God hath blessed me withal, more then all the good Christians in the world, that are not the Grand Seignour's Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may conduce to our own safety, enlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Master a confirmation of my old Commission of Consulage in Greece: But as to the Embassie, no more; then my Credential Letters did speak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those places which is a Messenger between the one and the other KING: They both unhappily died of several deaths, and both violent too. And it is a custome

not unknown to you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the World, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick expressions of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embassie, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have used it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those people that hath done it, I owe them no harm, so God pay them whom with all the good of this, and an everlasting life.

As for power, I have been long absent here in England, I meddle with none; Sufficient to me is Gods grace to the salvation of my soul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to a new Religion, and new Ways, (that I must say after Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot dispense with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permission, Master Sheriff) to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is straitned.) If I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any thing whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my soul, and forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive happiness at the hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir Thomas Bendish, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that Obedience willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature; to pay it upon the score of a Subject, because Conscience within me, tels me not, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, that I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more other ways.

Dr. Hide. There was some suspicion that you might impart the way you were upon to some of those servants that were with you.

Sir H. Hide. I humbly thank you for remembering me of it; and if any be here of the Turk Company this day

day, or any Friend of theirs, I shall desire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my brother my innocent brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their disturbance; it was my own business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to evil or loss, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuse any man, nor excuse myself, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of justice, in not revolting any of my Company in any thing of mischief. I cannot answer Objections; I finde a man may be in *Turkey*, or in any place, all the *World* over, where they will give than Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body, I have discontinued long, from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandements after the Old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whatsoever, whether I have offended them or no: I Truly forgive them, and have belought Almighty God to pour his blessings upon them. I accuse no man I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but the instruments; neither at the persons condemning I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon myself, and I beseech Almighty God, that I may be the last that may suffer upon this Score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian, whatsoever,

ever, in any kinde, as I spake in generall, I bless God Almighty from my own Heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extasies to Heaven, there is that glory I am going to. I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bless his holy Name; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me unworthy to bring me hither for my faithfulness to my Master, that is the most pious and most just Prince in all the world. My Mr. hath suffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his service, the fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the business, but by the instance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lye: To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perseverance in that Christian Religion; in that loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Master Sheriff, that I may give satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my punishment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many ways I have been taken taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and many thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had strange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his Grace into their own Bosoms. And God in particular bless that honourable Lady; who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternal Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all those that know me and know me not,

not, for since I am come hither whereas I might have received prejudice, in respect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received curtesie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodyed into my Religion; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World; but that the World might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beseech Almighty God to bless and prosper all people whatsoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, so is my health. I have forced my self in this Discourse to give that satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to answer it; and I beseech you joyn with me in your Christian Prayers, that I may have a passage whether I am now going to give an account, not onely of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he said,

Sir Henry Hide. *John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him he said,

Sir Henry Hide. Honest Friend I have no quarrel with you, you are the welcom instrument, do your work, onely let me see the place, that I may fit my self, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You shall when you have prayed; if you please to pray first.

Sir Henry Hide. I desire to see the Block, I can pray afterwards, Here Mr. Executioner is that money that is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being shewed the block, he kissed it saying,

Sir H. Hide. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Masters was, Blessed be God, Blessed be his holy Name (*putting off his hat*) I have an infirmity in my body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir H. Hide. I have I thank Almighty God) ~~done~~
these

those Christian Offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither only to dye.

Then kneeling down, he said the Lords Prayer,

Then having prayed a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir H. Hide. Aonest Friend, I pray give me direction on what I am to do. and do your Office; you will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me,

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarfe over the Block, he said

Sir H. Hide. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. Hide. God Almighty strengthen you,

S. H. Hide God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taken of it off; whereupon he said,

Sir H. Hide. Must I have my black Cap off, it is very cold: all these diseases will be cured the Lord be thanked,

Then going to lye down, his man not helping him, he said

Sr. H. Hide. John, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you I could neither rise or fall, lay me down, and lift me up again, John,

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Axe in his hand.

Sir H. Hide. Pray Sir give me the Axe.

And then taking the Axe in his hand, he kissed it and returned it to the Executioner again, saying

Sir H. Hide. I will only say, Lord Jesus receive my Soul and when I lift up my right hand, do your work. And then lying downe again, after a little space he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.



The Earl of Derby having all along the Warres served the King upon the advance of his present Majesty to VVorchester, Lands in Lancashire from the Isle of Man, and opposeth Colonell Lilburn at VViggon, there defeated, flies to VVorchester, and after that fatall battell is pursned and taken, and by a Sentence of a Councill of Warre, is beheaded at Bolton 1651.

FOr a pretended revenge of the bloud of those men that were killed in the Storming of Bolton by Prince Rupert, after they had refused Conditions offered them, it being noted for a precise Town, and to colloyne with that party : this noble Person, who most cordially helpt the King before, and
now

now adventured all upon this hazzard of his March from *Scotland*, being onely chief person of account of the *English* that were to his assistance, was after his flight from *Worcester*, the next day after being the 4th. of *September*, were taken by the Parliaments Horse at *Nupert*, and most illegally and bardarously by a private Council of War held at *Chester*, though he desired to be heard at *Westminster*, Sentenced (by Order from the Council of State) to be beheaded at *Bolton*, which to the grief and lamentation of the Inhabitants of that Town, who had continually received favours from the Noble Earl and his Ancestors, was accordingly Executed on *Wednesday* being the 15. of *October*. 1651.

Here followeth the **S P E E C H**
of **J A M E S** Earl of *Derby*
immediately before his
Execution at Bolton

A true Copy of the Speech of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire, together with his Deportment and Prayer before his death, on Wednesday the 15 day of October 1651.

THe Earl of Derby (according to the order of the Court Marshal held at Chester, by which he was sentenced to dye at Bolton in Lancashire) was brought to that Town with a Guard of Horse and Foot of Col. Jones's commanded by one Southly, who received his Order from Col. Robert Duckenfield, betwixt 12. and 1. of the Clock on Wednesday the 15 of October, the people weeping, praying and bewailing him all the way from the prison at Chester, to the place of his death.

He was brought to a house in the Town near the Crosse, where the Scaffold was raised, and as he passed by, said (*VENIO DOMINE*) I am prepared to fulfill thy will, O my God; this Scaffold must be my Cross; blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly and follow thee.) From thence going into a Chamber with some friends and servants, he was advertised by the Commander in chief that he had till three of the Clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of the Town and Country generally refusing to carry so much as a plank, or strike a nail, or to lend any assistance to that work, their cry being generally in the streets, O sad day, O woeful day! Shall the good Earl

Earl of Derby dye here? many sad losses have we had in this VVar, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country must suffer here: And to add to his trouble, most of the Timber that built the Scaffolds, was of the ruins of *Latham-house*; but nothing could alter his Lordships relation and courage: for with a stedfast composed countenance, and a cheerful, he called the company which were present to prayers with him, wherein he shewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his sins be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious to this Land, in restoring the *King, Law and Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all those that suffered by his *Losse*, or that had been *Friend* to him.

Rising from prayer, he sat down with a very pleasing countenance, and assured the standers by, that God had heard his prayes, which the blessed Spirit of God witnessed unto him, in the present Comforts he now felt in his Soul. Then he entred into a discourse of his life, and beseecht God to forgive him the dayes and time he had mis-spent, and said it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked so circumspectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a sense of his sins, and a tender respect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had strengthened and comforted him against all the terrors of death.

After these and some other words to this purpose, he desired his friends and the people by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, rising from his knees, he appeared fully satisfied of gracious return to his prayers, and never after shewed any sadness in his countenance:

His next business was with his Son the Lord Strange, whom he publicly charged to be dutiful to his sad Mother, affectionate to his distressed Brothers and Sisters, and studious of the Peace of his Country: But especially (said he) Sons, I charge you upon my Blessing, and upon the Blessings you expect from God to be ever dutiful to your distressed

distressed Mother, ever obedient to her commands and ever tender how in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a person well known to the most eminent Personages of England, France, Germany & Holland, noted for Piety, Prudence and all honourable Vertues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will encrease in favour with God and men.

Then he desired to be private in the room himself; where he was observed to be about an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and sighs before his God: Then, when he called the company in again, his eyes witnessed to us, that he had abundantly mixed Tears with his Prayers; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, being assured by the Testimony of Gods Spirit, that he should be carried from Trouble, to Rest and Peace, from sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and that Death had no other bitterness in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he humbly commended to the Protection and Providence of a better Husband, and a better Father; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who sat in the seat of Authority, would make provision for them, hoping that his death might sacrifice all those who sought his life, whom he freely forgave, and desired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and blessed him, which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never so hardened) to see the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady Katharine, and the Lady Amely Stanley, upon the road betwixt Chester and Bolton the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud, to whom his Lordship with a cheerfull countenance, and courteous humbleness said Good people, I thank you, and I beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed Good return your prayers back into your own besomes; The God of Mercies bless you, the Son of God establish you in righteousness and the Holy Ghost fill you with all comforts.—Coming near
the

the Scaffold, he looked up and said, God, I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to dye there; there are but these few steps to my eternity: Then kissing the ladder he went up and saluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon Scaffold, and went to the East end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his hat again and saluted the people with a cheerful countenance, said—I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to dye in this place, and I thank God I do with willingness and readiness submit to his most blessed will.

'Tis a place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, and also for your particular respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I killed one *Booth* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men present, both that day this Town was taken and divers other times during this war, that can justifie I preserv'd many lives; but I know there is not any one present that can lay the blood of any man whatsoever to my charge, unless that might casually happen in the fury and heat of a Battel; and why I dye in this Town, I know not, unless it be to perswade the Nation that I fall a sacrifice for that blood which some said I shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared my self before my Grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleased to hear me, before they had destroyed me; that report being hastily brought up among them, by some that I hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me by the Council of War (for *Booth's* death, was never mentioned against me there, that being onely secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgements of such as did not know me) my crime (I say) though I hope it deserves a far better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King; I

came in 'obedience to his Majesties call; whom both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived my self obliged to obey, and according to the Protestation I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so if it be my crime, I here confess it again before God, Angels and Men, that I love Monarchy as the best Government, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my Master; that now is, Charles the second of that name, whom I my self in this Conntrey proclaimed King, the Lord bless and preserve him, and incline the hearts of those that have power in this Nation, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace, for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, so I believe also, that King Charles the second, our now lawful King were a Stranger to this crown, were the most fit, and most accomplish Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people: his admirable Piety, Virtue, Justice, great Valour and Discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wish the people of this Nation so much happiness (when my eyes are closed) that he may peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his just right, and then they shall never want their just rights, which till then they will always want.

As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I only fought for peace, and settling the late King my Master in his just rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other design, intent or purpose for my then taking up arms: and for this last ingagement, I profess here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawful Sovereign into that Throne out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by the most unjust sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against Law
and

and disposed of; and this was all my reason. For a
 Estate or quality, I wanted not a sufficient compe-
 nency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either
 for by the favour of the Kings Predecessors, my family
 was raised to a condition well known in this Country
 and now is well known, that by his enemies I am ad-
 judged to dye, and that by new and monstrous Laws, as
 making me an enemy to my Country; as a Traytor
 to the Laws, for endeavouring to preserve the Laws:
 But, Oh! God give me grace to consider him, who suffered
 such contradictions of sinners, and O my God, assert the King
 to his Fathers Throne, assert the Laws to their former honour,
 and restore thy own Religion in its purity, that all these sha-
 dows and false pretences of Religion may vanish away, and our
 childrens posterities may serve thee in spirit and in truth.

Good friends, I dye for the * King, the
 Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Reli-
 gion maintained in the Church of England
 all which as I was ready to maintain with
 my life. so I cheerfully suffer for them in
 this welcome death

* At which
 words King
 & Laws, a
 Trooper said
 aloud, we
 will neither
 have King
 Lord, nor

Laws: and upon a sudden the Souldiers being either surprized
 with fear at a strange noi e that was heard, or else falling into
 mutiny, presently fell into tumult, riding up and down the streets,
 cutting and slashing the people, some being killed and many woun-
 ded; his Lordship looking upon this sad spectacle, said thus, Genc-
 tlemen it troubles me more then my own death, that others are hurt
 and (I fear) dye for me; I beseech you stay your hands, I flye
 not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you. But be-
 ing interrupted in his speech, and not permitted to go on any fur-
 ther (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turned a-
 side to his servant, and gave him the Speech into his hand, saying
 I will speak to my God, whom I know will hear me, and when
 I am dead, let the World know what I would have said. Here
 his Lordship was interrupted: but it was as follows, in his Copy
 under his Hand.

I am sentenced to death by a Councill of VVar, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and sage usage by Captain Edge, I had reason to have expected the Councill would have justified my Plea, which hath been Ancient Honourable, Sacred and Unviolable, untill this time that I am made the first suffering President: for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any Chhristian Nation was adjudged to death by a Councill of War after quarter given. I am the first, and I pray God may be the last Precedent in this case: I must dye, and I thank God I am ready for it: Death would now be my choice, had I the whole world in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me that I much care for. but my King, my VVife, my Children, my Friends, whom (I trust) the enever failing mercies of my God, will provide for: I beseech God shew mercy to those who neither had mercy or justice for me; my blessed Saviour taught me by his Example and Command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine, and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life, & let me not offend against them at my death; I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them truly.

Of my faith and Religion, I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I profess my faith to be in God onely, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I dye a dutiful son to the Church of England, as it was establisht in that blessed Prince my late masters Reign, which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most pure and agreeable to the VVord of God, and primitive Government of any Church within 12 or 1300 years since Christ & which
to

to my great comfort) I left established in the Isle of Man; God preserve it there, and restore it to this Nation.

And O blessed God: I magnifie thy Name, that thou gavest me the happiness and mercy to be born in a Christian Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was professed in purity: With honour to thy name, and comfort to thy people, I ascribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my bosome, to the Ministry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy Church, and made effectual by the operation of the same blessed Spirit. In this Faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I dye, pray for me I beseech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my my prayers, for mine and your salvation.

Presently after the tumult was over, his *Here his Lord-* Lordship called for the Headsmen, and *ship began to* and asked to see the Ax, and taking it in *speak again.* his hand, said, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am sure it* cannot hurt me; and then kissing it said, *Methinks this is* as a Wedding Ring, which is a sign I am to leave all the *World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, said to the Headsmen, *Here Friend, take these two pieces, all that I have, thou must be* my Priest, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headsmen had on, *This (saies he) will be troublesome to thee; I pray thee put* it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my *flesh, that is now so heavy for my soul,* then some of the standers by bid the Headsmen kneel, and ask his Lordship pardon: but he did not, but was surly and crabbed: but his Lordship said, *Friend, I give thee the pardon* thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee also: Then turning up his eyes to Heaven said aloud, *How long Lord? how long?* then gently passing over the scaffold, and seeing one of his Chaplains on horseback among the people, Good Sir (said he) pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own bosome, and I pray remember me kneeling to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.

Then looking towards his Coffin, *Thou art* (said he) my bridal Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard, and sleep without Souldiers.

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready, *That* (said he) *methinks it is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt 'vat and heaven;* then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them, and desired again their prayers; then said, *I see your tears, and hear your sighs and groans, and prayers; the God of Heaven hear and grant your supplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church laying, *Whilst I am here. I will look towards the holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be over past;* then he pulled off his blew garter, and gave it to his Son. and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulness he said, *I come, Lord Jesus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever;* upon this he said, *Pray tell me how must I be, I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that severe curiosity to see any man put to death in peace;* then laying himself down on the block, after a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to be a little removed; then said to the Heads-man, *Friend, remember what I said to thee: and be no more afraid to strike then I to dye; and when I put up my hand, do thy work;* so looking round about upon his friends and the people, he said, *The Lord bless you all, and once more pray for me and with me;* at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himself, with great sighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer; then rising up again, he said (smilingly) *My soul is now at rest and so shall my body be immediately. The Lord bless my King, and restore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord bless this Kingdom, and restore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to settle truth and peace; and the Lord bless this Country, and this Town.*

and this People. The Lord comfort my sad wife and children,
and reward all my friends with peace and happinesse, both here
and hereafter, and the Lord forgive them who were the cause
and authors of this sad end and unjust death, for so it is as to
mankind; though before God I deserve much worse, but I
hope my sins are all bathed in the blood of Jesus Christ.

So having his neck upon the block, and his arms
stretcht out, he said these words.

*Blessed be Gods glorious Name for ever and e-
ver. Let the whole earth be filled with his
glory, Amen, Amen.*

At which words, he gave the Heads-man the sign;
but he either not observing it, or not being ready, stay-
ed too long, so that his Lordship rose up again, saying,
VVhy do you keep me from my Saviour? what have
I done, that I dye not, and that I may live with him?
Once more I wil lay down my self in peace, and so take
my everlasting rest. Then saying Come Lord Jesus, come
quickly. He stretched out his arms and gave the sign, re-
peating the same words

*Blessed be Gods glorious name for ever and e-
ver. Let the whole earth be filled with glo-
ry, Amen, Amen.*

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his
work at one blow; all the people weeping and crying,
with all expressions of grief and lamentation.

When the Corps were carried off the Scaffold, they
carried them to the house in the Town, where was
thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper these two
lines.

Vpon JAMES Earle of DERBY.
Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (bere) in one lye dead,
A Stanleys hand, Veres heart, and Cecil's head.

The

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Resolved by the Court upon the Court.

That James Earl of Derby is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12 of August, 1651. last past, entituled *An Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party, and so of High-Treason against the Common-Wealth of England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Resolved by the Court.

That the said James Earl of Derby is a Traytor to the Common-Wealth of England, and an abettor, encourager and assister of the declared Traytors and enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body, at the Market place in the Town of Bolton in Lancashire, upon Wednesday the 15 of this instant October, about the hour of one of the Clock the same day.



THE HISTORY of Colonel *Eusebius Andrews.*

Eusebius Andrews a Colonel in the Kings Army, the War being ended, betakes himself to the Profession of the Law, wherein he was bred. His Worth and Eminent Loyalty render him Obnoxious to the designs of the State against him. Their Engines, Major Bernards (formerly an Officer under him) Smith and others betray him. He is beheaded by the Sentence of their High Court of Justice. Bernards not long after is hang'd for Robbing and Burglary.

OF all those ways of destruction, wherein the Devill leads Mankind to the ruine of one another, none is more pernicious then the crooked hidden path of Treachery, where as securely as secretly he placeth his ambushes of death. The Serpent is here in his proper posture, in his windings and insinuations, compassing his prey within his killing circles, out of which no charms of mercy or compassion can relieve the unwary innocent. Thus is it when under the designs of friendship, and some indeared familiarity, which any vertue hath cemented, malice obtrudes it self, and by all Artifice, corruption of persons, to be Agents and instruments of her cruelty, effects and brings to passe her most scelerate and delectable practices and murders. a very exemplary instance, whereof we may see in this ensuing doleful Tragedy.

During

during the late unnatural war between his Majesty and the Parliament at *Westminster*, among many right Noble and loyal Gentlemen, whose obedience and duty animated them to the peril and danger of the war; taking from it repose of Arts and Studies, to which so propitiously nature had inclined them, and in which they had made so eminent a proficiency. This Gentleman known by the name and stile of *Eusebius Andrews* of *Grayes Inn* Esquire a Barrester at Law, was most conspicuous and remarkable, with what singular valour, prudence and integrity he served that most incomparable Prince throughout the whole time of that bloody Contest; his and his most just causes Adversaries, too well remembered. Nothing therefore should be spoken of it here more but onely to give you notice, that having by his merit ascended to the Dignity and Command of a Colonel under his Majesty, he was assisted by one *Bernards* as his Major in the Regiment, who also gave proof of courage and honesty sufficient during the service, which maintained and preserved a good correspondence afterwards between them; till *Money* and a loose necessitous life, betrayed *Bernards* to the worst of Treasons proving false at one time to his Friend and Sovereign. It must not be omitted, both for the honour of Colonel *Andrews* and the better light to the reasons inducing the Council of State then to fasten on him, that he was preferred by the King formerly to be Clark of the Crown in Ireland, and after was invited by my Lord *Capel* (that glorious loyal Martyr) to be Secretary towards the conclusion of the war, when that Noble man was chief Counsellour to the Prince of Wales, his now Majesty whereby he was admitted into a nearness, and communication of those Counsels and affairs which related to the King: which great trust as he wisely and gallantly discharged to his glory, so the eximiousness of his place and person altered the jealousie and suspicion of the State on him to his ruine. This is enough to be said of him here without repeating him from his Originals (Honourable

rable every way) for we write not by life but his death.

That was compassed on this manner, *Barnards* the war ended as was said before living in a most debauched lewd course of life; and being reduced to a pinching fortune, was soon light upon and taken up by the Parliament flies those *Trapans* or spirits of state, then employed every where for gaining intelligence. These men easily with money and future promises drew over *Barnards* to be a spy and a setter, upon the Royal party; and because of his relation to the Collonel, the just plot was laid against; the contrivance whereof was as followeth.

That no suspicion might enter into the minde of the Collonel as it might if on a suddain, they had started the design, *Barnards* long before frequent his company venting his discontents against the power, then in being to which the Collonel (as his judgement byassed him) lent no unwilling ear.

This opening the way to a closer overture, wherein *Barnards* intimated that a general design was on foot for the restoring his Majesty (that now is) and that most of the Nobility were privy and partakers in it; and that indeed it lacked nothing but so able a person as himself to manage the business to a ripeness; to that purpose he then nominated many great persons, among whom as chief was *Sir John Gell* a person that had in the war been very active against the King. The conclusion of that meeting was, that by subscription the design should be carried on, and that when the money and arms agreed on were ready the enterprise should be put in execution, and there withal that Province was laid upon the Collonel (a meeting being afterwards contrived between him and the second *Sir John*) to get his subscription, which *Sir John* refused to do but said he would at any time be ready to do the King his uttermost service when present, and further would not be drayn to say.

VVhen

Then they see they could not by him entrap Sir John, he with others came and dispatch of their business, told him; that if he had no more haste the business would be done without him and that he the said *Barnards* would go presently over to the King, and acquaint him what forwardness his affairs were, in if not neglected, which would sound little to his honour.

The next day after they pressed him again told him, at the three Cranes by the *Savoy*, whereby they met with *Smith* and others that 200 *l.* was ready for a present occasion they had projected themselves, and that the *Buckinghamshire* and *Kentish* Gentlemen were in a readiness expecting what would be done, - whereupon it was advised; there coming then a Proclamation out to Command all Cavaliers to depart *London* and twenty miles beyond, for him to go for *Gravesend* (the Collonel intending there to go into *Norfolk* to some Clients, whose business he had undertaken for settling and conveying of estates if according to promise of the money, which they had failed in twice, neither it nor the Gentlemen above said should meet him) where a rendezvous was appointed. As soon as he came thither he was seized on by a Troop of Horse sent from *London* to the very place he lodged in, and presently brought before a Committee of Examinators where finding he was betrayed from the very first Commencement of the design he thought it most generous not to deny it, using then these sentences.

Quos

*Quos perdi vult Jupiter hos prius
dementat*

More usually this

*Fiat voluntas Dei modo ruina
mea,*

V V Hich He always subscribed to his Examination and to his Pleas, which were very learned: and whereby he put the Authority and Jurisdiction to a puzzle, but they over-ruled him with their power, and finally Sentenced him to Death, by vertue and colour of a pretended Act, Against holding and maintaining a Correspondence with the KING, Which accordingly was Executed, by Beheading him on Tower-Hill.

Where He spake as Followeth,

A S soon as he came upon the Scaffold, kissing the Block, he said, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven. And to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I hope I shall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it.

After a little while, turning to the rail of the Scaffold he spake thus

Christian Gentlemen and people,

Y Our businesse hither to day is to see a sad Spectacle a Man in a moment un-named and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himselfe, his friends, or the Com-
MON

mon-VVealth, or especially to God it seldom happens, but upon very good cause. And truly if my general course of life were but enquired into I may modestly say, there is such a moral honesty upon it as some many be so sawcy as to expostulate this great judgement is fallen upon me; but know I am able to give a better account of my judgement and execution then my judges themselves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of many judgements withstood and mercies slighted, therefore God hath whipped me by his sore rod of Correction, that he might not lose me. I pray joyn with me in prayer that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staff I may be comforted and received into glory. By what I have heard since my sentence there are more exceptions made against proceedings against me then ever I made; my Tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law, is indisputable and for me to make a question of it I should shame myself and my discretion. In the strictness of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein for which I stand condemnable; the means whereby I was brought under the interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to legal justice, for equity lyeth in higher breasts.

As for my accusers or master betrayers I pity and am sorry for them they have committed Judas his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape Judas his punishment, and I wish other people so happy they may be taken up betimes before they had drunk up more blood of Christian men possibly less deserving then my self.

It is true, there have been several Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own sin, and God sees it
fit

fit having not glorified him in my life, I might do it my death, I am so contended to do. I professe in the face of God, particular malice to any one of the State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury, I had none.

For the Cause which I had long waded in, I must needs say, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my conscience, it was no principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I professe, and on principles of Religion, my judgement satisfied, my Conscience rectified, that I have pursued those ways which I blesse God I find no blacknesse on my conscience, nor have I put it into the bed-Role of my sins.

I will not presume to decide controversies, I desire God to honour himself in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possesse here, in my conversation in the VVorld, I do not know where I have an enemy with cause, or that there is such a person whom I have to regret, but if there be any whom I cannot recollect, under the notion of Christian men, I pardon them all as freely as if I had named them by name. I freely forgive them, being in peace with all the world, as I desire God for Christs to be at peace with me. For the businesse of death is a sad sentence in it self, if men consult with Flesh and blood; but truly I say without boasting, if I do boast it is in the Lord, I have not to this minure had one consultation with the flesh about the blow of the Axe or one thought of the Axe, more then as my passe-pors to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulness: to those under whose power I am, that they have sent me hither to a place, however of punishment yet of some honour to dye a death somewhat worthy of my blood, answerable to my birth and qualification; and this courtesie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I shal desire God that those Gentlemen in that sad Bead-to be tried by the High Court of Justice, that they may find that really these that is nominal in the Act, an

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High Court of justice, a Court of justice high in its righteousness, though not in its severity. *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of sins, so I may have the wings of the prayers to help those Angels that are to convey my soul to Heaven; and I doubt not but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant master the King of England, and another master whom I much Honoured my Lord Capel hoping this day to see my Christ in the presence of the Father, the King in the presence of him, my Lord Capel in the presence of them all, and my self there to rejoyce with other Saints and Angels for evermore.

As to his Religion he said, there lyeth a common imputation upon the Cavaleers that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion. I am not a Papist but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies; The religion which I profer is that which passeth under the name of Protestant, though that be rather a name of distinction then properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation purged from all the errors of Rome in the reign of Edward the sixth practised in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion, before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick though not the Roman Catholick Religion in the profession and practice whereof I will live and dye.

Then taking his leave of the Doctor that attended him and the rest of his friends and the Sheriffs, he kissed the Axe, and laid down to the block and at his sign given, the Executioner struck off his head at one blow.

Thus fell a Noble Gentleman a devout Christian a zealous Protestant and a dutiful subject by the mercenary perjuries & shares of a vile sort of men, when we
all

Shall now see the dert justice speedily passing in a regular & most exact method to his glory and their shame and confusion. For this *Barnards*, who so lately had prostituted his confidence, in destroying his friend, by the unsearcheable ways of providence came shortly after to a most ignominious end. 'Tis true he received the wages of his wickedness from his blood thirsty matters, and (as an invitation for other such desperate fellows to apostate from their loyalty, and to involve their own party in mine by their machinations) was made Captain of the Troop of horse then in *Scotland*, where he continued a while that Command. But *Cromwel* having turned out, that Monster of a free-state and put an end to their Tyranny, he as an unfit person and as useless, (being so well known, that all men of any honour avoided him) and that moreover he owned his preferment to his Patrons of a Common-Wealth, was judged unsecure and dangerous to be continued in that quality any longer where upon he was dismissed, and so returned to *London*, where he began his old vicious courses, which soon deceived him of that money he had got by selling the life of this Collonel and so forced into his old shifts of borrowing as long as his credit or oaths would do it, being rejected and feared by all men, as the common pest or band of society, he betook himself to theevery in which (after some other little attempts) he was taken for a Burglery committed on the house of Collonel *VVinsbop* at *VWestminster*, Collonel in the same Regiment where he had his Troop in *Scotland*, (where signally may we note how God repayed and retaliated, his villanous murder upon his first Collonel by a fellonous robbery of his last.) For which fact he was indited at the Sessions house in the Old Bayly, where most impudently he denied the Fact, but upon clear proofs and evidence against him the Jury found him guilty and the Court passed sentence that he should be hanged for the same. After his condemnation he turned for a re-
 preive pretending some more discoveries to *Cromwel*

and laying before them his good servite, for which he was respited 2 days, but not being able to make good his word to those Examiners that were sent to him, he was Executed according to his judgement at Tyburn, so far from relenting and confessing, that you see he would have made use of the same bloody Artifices, to have prolonged his wretched life. God making his sin his greatest and most severe punishment: VVe need not adde here the end of some of his other betrayers and enemies, as Mr. Scot, who first examined him and made up his Charge, they having answered for other things at a Barre here, and for this at Heavens Tribunal.

The odiousnesse of this monstrous crime of Treachery is so great (though the ill naturednesse of this last age through some malignant influences hath much abounded, and for which those that are privily guilty to themselves; as well as such as have been detected of betraying their friends of the Royall Party, ought seriously and earnestly to repent (and such a Bugbear sin, that it is dreadful enough of it self to fright us from it: but here we may see more horroure and ugliness added to it by Gods special abhorrence and detestation of it, manifested in the footsteps of his vengeance, wherein he traced this false and wicked man to his deserved end. Let his sad example be a caution and Lesson to all loose and profane men, whose incommunicabilty with vertue and goodnesse must needs breed a strangenesse and alienation of affection in the longest contracted friendship.



A mans' best fortune or his worst's a wife:
Yet I, that knew nor marriage peace nor strife,
Live by a good, by a bad one lost my life.

A wife like her I writ, man scarce can wed:
Of a false friend like mine, man scarce hath read.



*The cruel and barbarous murder of Sir
Thomas Overbury in the Tower of
London by poyson, and Sir Jervas
Elvys, Mrs. Turner, Richard West-
on and James Franklin Executed
at Tyburn and other places for the
commitment of it.*

ALthough in this following history we cannot so properly say, there was blood for blood the chief instruments of this horride murder committed on the person of Sir *Thomas Overbury*; being pardoned for the extraordinary mercy of the King, yet the Ministers that were imployed for the accomplishment of it, were brought all unto condign punishment as by the *Sequels* of this history shall appear.

Mr. *Thomas Overbury* descended of an ancient Family in *Glocester-shire*, added to the splendor of his *Natals* by the Excellence of his *Naturals*. In his minority he had an extraordinary happiness to apprehend, and as great a faculty to retain what he apprehended, which commended him very early from the free-School in *Glocester-shire* to the University of *Cambridge*, and from thence to the Innes of Court. VVhere having in a short time given many pregnant proofs of his extraordinary abilities; his parents thought fit that he should accomplish what he had gained in his studies at home, by the advantage of new observations in travails abroad. On his return to *England*, he was generally looked upon, as one of the most qualified persons in the Nation. His book, called his characters
was

was a great testimony of his wit, and the probity of his life in so young an age was as great a proof of his wisdom. This rendered him remarkable to many eminent personages of the Court and especially to Sir Robert Carr created lately Viscount Rochester who being in greatest favour with the King was indeed the splendor of it, in the mean time the King multiplied favours upon favours, and places of the greatest dignity on Sir Robert Carr for besides his being Viscount of Rochester he made him Earl of Somerset, one of the Privy Council, and principal Secretary of State: For the better managing of which great employments he assisted himself with the rare indowments of Mr. Overbury, who performed what he undertook with that unwearied industry, that he was enforced to have an issue made in his left arm for the avoiding of Rheum and evil humours which with continual sitting and writing in his study he had contracted.

Mr. Overbury now groweth eminent in Court, as wel by the Viscounts favour, as by his great dexterity in the mangement of Court employments, and the Honour of Knight-hood is bestowed on him; in the mean time Frances Countess of Essex harboured in her heart a secret envy towards her husband, and her dislike of him dayly increasing, she comes to Court where she is a dayly spectator of the rising fortunes of the Earl of Somerset, and being inflamed as much with the spirit of ambition as of lust, she hath recourse unto one Mrs. Turner who being a Gentlewoman that from her youth had been given over unto an inordinate course of life fell from the prostitution of her body to lust, to practice sorcery and inchantment, and many other inconveniences. Unto this woman the Countess makes her complaint and she her self feeling part of her pain doth pittie her, and in hope of profit doth promise to effect any thing which she desireth and it was resolved upon betwixt them to administer poyson to the Earl but the event not answering the expectation of the youthful Countess she writes unto him in these words.

Sweet Turner,

As thou hast been always hitherto so thou art still: all the hopes I have of enjoying any good in this world. My Lord is as lusty as ever he was, and hath complained to my Brother *Howard* that he hath not layn with me, nor used me as his wife. This makes me mad, since of all men I do loath him being unto me so great an obstacle, and a hinderance that I am afraid I shall never enjoy the other whom I love.

Mrs. *Turner* being struck with amazement, and not knowing what answer on the suddain to return unto this letter, the young Countess comes again unto her, and returning her complains, she expresth an extraordinary affection towards the great Favourite the Earl of *Somerset*, she protesteth she cannot rest without his company yet doth not know how to enjoy it, there being not the relation nor acquaintance betwixt them; whereupon Mr. *Turner* being ready to put any evil attempt in execution concludes with the Countess to inchaunt the Earl of *Somerset* to affect her; For this purpose they become acquainted with Doctor *Forman* who was an old man that lived at *Lambeth*, and was thought to have skill in the Magick Art; by great promises of rewards she was overcome to joyn with Mrs. *Turner*, and assureth her that he wil perform the utmost of his power and imploy all his Art, to inchaunt the Earl of *Somerset*s affection towards the Countess. Much time is spent and many wayes of witchcraft used, and greatest they are at in making pictures of wax, Crosses of silver and other inventions; they counsaile the Countess to continue at the Court where she may have free access without controul, and have all opportunities by words and gestures to intimate her affection to him. This took effect, and the Earl seemed to much taken with her, he numbered her amongst the fairest and the most accomplished of all her sex and doubled the worth of every action in his estimation of it, insomuch that he could take no delight but onely in the Heaven and happiness of her company. Hereupon their meetings were very frequent where nothing was omitted, that might inflame the heat of a lustial appetite.

It was commonly reported that the young Countess of *Effex* being most unwilling to live a solitary and a country life, as my Lord her husband did perswade her to, acquainted her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton* with her discontent, and of her great affection towards the great Favourite of the King the Earl of *Somerset*. Whereupon the Earl of *Northampton* being a person of great policy weighing the advantages that thereunto might redound unto him, seemed rather to give a liking towards it, then any wayes endeavoured to dissuade her from it, by giving her that good counsel as was suitable to the authority and gravity of an Uncle, insomuch that it is said the first meeting where they had the opportunity and familiarity of any private conference was at this Earls house, who invited the Earl of *Somerset* to Supper; and finding good there he Countess, they at their pleasure appointed meetings for the time to come.

Now the Earl of *Effex* perceiving himself to be less regarded dissuades his Lady from her looser course of life, and acquaints her withal with the evil report that it had brought upon her, whereupon in a great fury she repayres to her ancient friend Mrs. *Turner*, where they combine to be with the Earl of *Effex*, and procure in him a frigidity as to her single person. For this purpose Doctor *Forman* was sent for who being come unto them, they framed a picture in wax, and having taken a thorn from a Hawthorne tree that did bear leaves, they did stick it upon the privacy of the said picture by which means they accomplish their desires, as to that particular.

This being done she repairs to her house at *Charly* in the Country, whither the Earl follows her. Here she enters into new jealousies, and fearing the discontinuance of the Earl of *Somerset*'s love by the absence of his person, or finding that the Earl of *Effex* began to be more lusty then she expected, she writes a letter to Doctor *Forman* in these words.

Sweet Father,

Although I have found you ready at all times further me
yes

yet I must still desire your help, wherefore I beseech you that you keep the door close, and that you still retain the Lord my friend with me, and his affection towards me. I have no cause but to be confident in you, although the World be against me, yet Heaven fails me not, many are the troubles I sustain, the doggednesse of my Lord, the crossnesse of my enemies, and the subversion of my fortunes, unless you by your wisdom do deliver me out of the midst of this wilderness which I desire for Gods sake.

Your affectionate Daughter
Frances Essex.

THE Doctor had no sooner perused this Letter but immediately he hath recourse to his old trade of Sorcery, and prepares an enchanted Nutmeg, and a Letter, the Nutmeg to be given to the Earl of Somerset in his drink, and the better to work out its effects by kissing his hand and soliciting his eyes. This being done, not long afterwards the Doctor dyed, and one Gresham a famous Mathematician, was wholly employed and interested in her business.

The Earl of Somerset, having received the Letter, the more he doth peruse it the more he is possessed with it, whereupon suddenly dispatcheth an answer, and the Countesse pocking to London, new places of meetings were assigned, the first meeting they had was at *Hammer-smith*, the second in *Pater-noster-Row*, and afterward at *Mrs. Turners* house and other places; and it is not to be dissembled but Sir *Thomas Overbury* himself was employed to carry Letters to and again betwixt them; and as that great Reader of Men as well as of Books, *Sr. Fr. Bacon* doth alledge against him, he was heard he saith to make his brags that he won the Earl the love of that Countesse by his Letters and his industry. Sir *Francis Bacon* in the same Speech at the Arraignment of the Earl of Somerset, declairs that Sir *Thomas Overbury* was a man of an impudent and unbounded spirit, and having little that was solid for Religion or moral virtue, but wholly possessed with ambition and vain glory was loth to have any partners in the favour of the Lord Somerset, especially any of the House of the *Howards* against whom he had always professed hatred and opposition.

But

But let him be never so naught, or so corrupt, the most barbarous and bloody murder of him cannot be excused; it was brought to the Countesse of Essex ear that Sir Thomas Overbury should say that she was a Whore, and that oftentimes he had inveighed very bitterly against her to the Earl of Somerset, and perswaded him to abstain from her company, and that words had passed in a very high nature betwixt the Earl of Somerset and Sir Thomas Overbury, who threatened as well as advice the Earl, when he bid him be sure that he stood fast if he kept the Countesse of Essex company any longer neither was the answer to be forgotten which the Earl of Somerset immediately returned in these words,

My own legs are straight and strong enough to bear me up, but in faith I will be even with you for this.

These words of Sir Thomas Overbury did move the Earl unto a suddain choller, but the Countesse who before did bear a great hatred to him, was now at the hearing of this, so transported with fury and revenge, that immediately with tears in her eyes, she repaired to Mrs. Turner to renew her complaints, protesting that she was never so defamed, neither did she ever think that any man durst have been so sawsy as to call her whore or base woman, especially to her Lord, the Earl of Somerset, and with so impudent and undaunted a face as Overbury, that Negro, that scum of men, that devill incarnate, who dares speak any thing and yet pass unregarded and unpunished. This moves pity in Mrs. Turner, who weeps as fast to see her weep; at the last they both resolve on to be the death of him, Mrs. Turner tells the Countesse, that it is pity that he should live to defame so honourable a Lady and so well descended, to the utter disparaging of her House, and that rather he should passe with life, she would be his deaths-man her self. But cast about which way to do it, they conclude the safest way was by poyson but when they were to seek for the party that should perform it; for it must be some Apothecary or physician that had the Art to temper the poyson rightly to take effect accordingly. After long study one Weston was

was named, he had been sometimes servant to Doctor Turner Mrs. Turners Husband, and learned such experience, that none was so fit to accomplish this murder as himself. This man living in the Country multumamely be sent for, and Mrs Turner is confident that she shal prevail upon him for the effecting of it; 200 pounds are proffered him, Lucre him, and he of all men undertakes it.

The Earl of *Somerset* enters into a combination with them for them for the poysoning of. *Sir Thom. Overberry*; And diverse there were that charged the Earl of *Northampton* to have a hand in it, for which many strong suspicions alleaged. At the same time *Sir Thomas Overberry* for his great sufficiencies was nominated by the Council as a fit person to be Embassadour to the Arch-Duke in *Flaunders*, which the Earl of *Somerset* understanding contrives a way theteby for his utter overthrow, for craftily he dissuades him from it, and tells him that his preferment lies not among foraign Nations, that he had found him so faithfull that he could as well misse his right hand as be without him, moreover, if any danger by his deniall should befall him, he would screen betwixt him and the anger of the King, and if confined, he would use his utmost endeavour for his suddain discharge. Having entertained and abused *Sir Thomas* with this vain promise, he immediately repaires unto the King, and suggests unto him how insolent *Overbury* was grown, and that he now not only contemned him, but his Majesty also in refusing to undertake this Ambassage. The King being incensed at him for his contempt, he was sent prisoner to the Tower, of which place *Sir Jervas Elways* was made Lieutenant, by the means of the Earl of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Northampton*, the better to prosecute their designs for the poysoning of *Sir Thomas Overbury*, and the more vigorously to effect it, they give order that he should be kept close prisoner, which *Sir Francis Bacon* declares, ought not to be done to a person confined to the Tower only upon a contempt, and by their means *Sir Thomas Mounson* is also sent to the Lieutenant

tenant of the Tower that he should not suffer any letters or Tokens, or any other thing delivered to him.

The prisoner being now wholly in the custody of his mortal enemies, Mrs. Turner by the instigation of the Countesse, becomes a great suitor to Sir Thomas Mounson to have his Letter to the Lieutenant, to have Weston to attend on Sir Thomas Overbury, which suddainly was granted, and Sir Thomas Overbury not knowing, which way to avoid it. did seem to be contented with it.

In the mean time there is a motion for a marriage between the Earl of Somerset and the Countesse. It was alledged that the Earl of Essex was unable to perform the Office of an Husband, and twelve Matrons impanelled to search the body of the Countesse, and to return verdict whether she was a true maid or not, but most are of opinion that the Countesse was never searched being said to have a child in her Lords absence, but that one of Sir Tho. Mounsons daughters was brought in to be searched in her place, and so both Jury and Judges were deceived. However a Bill of Divorce was granted, and the marriage betwixt the Earl of Somerset and the Countesse of Essex in great pomp was solemnized.

This was no sooner brought to the ears of Sir Thomas Overbury, but he told the messenger that he had almost as good have told him that on tomorrow he must dye; and being in a great perplexity he wrote this letter to the Earl of Somerset.

Right Noble and VVorthy Sir,

Your accustomed Favours and absolute promise, concerning my present deliverance hath caused me at this time to sollicite your Lordship, and to put you in remembrance of the same, not doubting that your honour is at all forgetful of me, but onely by reason of my imprisonment, being possessed with diverse diseases, I would for my bodys health and safety tast the felicity of the open air, in which case, if your Lordship shall please to commiserate my present necessities by procuring mee my speedy deliverance, I shall not only stand so much the more obliged to you, but also acknowledg you the preserver of my life.

The

(43.)
the letter being read, the Earl writes back unto him that the Court was at present busie about importent affairs but as soon as he could finde opportunity, he would not fail to speak in his behalf. In the mean time to ease the pain of his melody he had sent him a Sovereign powder either to be eat or drink which powder was rank poyson.

We made mention before of the death of Doctor For-
man, whom *Gresham* succeeded, and who dyed also in a short time after him, and one *Franklin* was entertained in his place who was thought to be no less a wizzard then the two former, and was admirable in the confecting and laying of poyson, he confessed at his arraignment that on the request of Mrs. Turner who came from the Countess to him he bought seven sorts of strong and rank poysons, viz. *Aquafortis* white Arsenick, Mercury Powder of Diamonds, *Lapis costitus*, great Spiders and *Cantharides* all which at several times were administered to Sir Thomas Overbury.

But the first who began to practice the execrable design of poysoning the body of Sir Thomas, was old Weston who (as I have said before) was entertained into the Tower on purpose for the effecting of it, he was no sooner made Sir Thomas Overburies keeper but received on the same day being the sixth of May 1613. a certain yellow poyson called *Rosalgar* in a Vial and having Sir Thomas Overburies supper in on hand, and the Vial of poyson in the other he met with the Lieutenant of the Tower in the way, and said unto him Sir shall I give it him now, where upon the Lieutenant took him aside and dissuaded him so far forth, that at that time he did not administer it to him.

Nevertheless not long afterwards he did put in practice, and gave him also many other poysons, and addressing himself to Mrs. Turner for the promised reward, she sharply took him up, and demanded if he had no more conscience to demand his reward before he had his work to whom he replied that he had given him poyson enough to kill him many men, but his constitution was so sound that it over-
came

came the poyson. The operation of it nevertheless both in purging and in vomiting made him extremely sick and brought him to the doors of death.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* being thus extremely afflicted both in mind and body knew not what to conclude of himself, the Earl of *Somerset* under pretence of love sent oftentimes to visite him and sometimes Mr. *James* and Mr. *Rawlins* two Gentlemen who had dependence on the Countess would come unto him as well from their Lady as themselves to pay her civil respects unto him, and Tarts and Jellies were sent often unto him from the Countess being all rankly poysoned, as so many presents of love to get him a stomack but the reader must understand that there were also other Tarts and Jellies sent by the Earl of *Somerset* to Sir *Thomas Mounson* to be delivered to *Wiston* for Sir *Thomas Overbury* to eat every one of which Tarts and Jellies were poysoned with several sorts of poyson. These courses caused Sir *Thomas Mounson* to be suspected of his horrible act, as to have a hand in it. for it was proved that they were conveyed to the Tower from his house, and afterwards indicted at the bar at *Guild-hall* as an accessory to his murder, though he made high protestations of his innocence yet the Queens Atturney who was present at the tryal protested to the Lord chief Justice that he had examined the busines, and found him to be as guilty, as the guiltiest.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* finding his health dayly to im-payre and grow weaker, and weaker promises for his deliverance which the Earl of *Somerset* made in his letters to him to be but dilatory ayres he very roundly did write unto him this following letter.

My Lord,

I wonder you have not as yet found means to effect my delivery, I remember you said you would be even with me, and so indeed you are; but assure your self my Lord if ye do not release me but suffer me thus to die, my blood will be required at your hands,

He

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He (as rich men do commonly desire a luscious diet) requested that he might have more tarts and jellies, being ignorant of the dangerous ingredients that were in those which had been so often sent unto him; these tarts also were provided by Mrs. Turner with the knowledge of the Countess, and they were poisoned with Mercury sublimated.

King James of his own accord, having one day at dinner made mention of the Captivity of Sir Thomas Overbury, and that he would have him released; the Earl of Somerset acquainted the Countess with it, and in his letter to her, wondered at the delays, and what should be the reason that the business was not yet dispatched, he assured her also that if Overbury should come out of prison they should all be undone. Hereupon she hath recourse again to Mrs. Turner, who understanding from Weston that Sir Thomas had a desire to have some gentle physick to be administered to him, they hired an Apothecaries boy for 20*l*. to poison a Glister, which was no sooner infused into his body but he fell into a great extremity of vomiting, he had 60 stools and Vomits, and never left purging untill his soul abandoned his poisoned body.

Being dead, many Blanes and blisters appeared on his infected body, which was suddainly and unreverently buried in a pit, digged in a very mean and private place, and to reprove him as well of his good Name as of his life, they raised a slanderous report, that he dyed of the French Pox.

The manner of the death of this much deplored Knight, being now concealed Two years Doctor or thereabouts, it pleased God by the means of Sir Thomas Overbury's Friends and Servants to bring it to light, and by the appoinement of his Majesty, my Lord Coke was sent unto, to prosecute the matter, Weston was sent for, and was examined upon divers Articles, and was intreated, perswaded and threatened to tell the truth, but with much confidence he denied the Fact, for the space of
The

This confession of *Westons* being taken the Earl of *Somerset*, and his Countess are attached, and the one of them was committed to the protection of the Dean of *Westminster*, and the other to the Sheriff of *London*; and being both of them afterwards arraigned, and tryed by their Peers they were both condemned to dye, but pardoned by the extraordinary mercy of the King; and although all care was taken by them for the burning of all letters and papers that concerned this business, yet divers inchantments discovered written in parchment, wherein was contained the Names of the blessed Trinity, as they are mentioned in the Scriptures and in another scrolls * P. * C. * D. * E. A third inchantment was also found written in parchment with all the Names of the Holy Trinity as also a figure, in which was written this word *Corpus* and upon the said parchment was fastened the skin of a man. In some of these parchments the Devils had particular Names which were conjured to torment the Earl of *Somerset*, and *Sir Arthur Manwaring* if his love should not continue to *Mrs. Turner*, and the Earls unto the Countess.

Weston was executed at *Tyborn* where he was said to make a penitent end and shortly afterwards *Mrs. Turner* in her yellow Ruff & Cuff, being put into a cart was carried to *Tyburn* and there executed; many eminent persons came in their coaches to see her dye to whom she made a speech desiring them not to rejoyce; but rather take an example by her fall, she exhorted them to serve God, and to abandon pride, and all other sin, and shewing many signs of penitency she moved the spectators to pitty and great grief for her.

Sir Jervas Yelvis having made a very godly and penitent end on the Tower hill where he was hanged, and where he confessed that having been a great gambler, and exhausted a great part of his means at play he one time on his knees vowed seriously to the Lord in his prayer, *Lord let me be hanged if ever I play any more which judgement* (having since a thousand times
L broke

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broke that vow) he said was now most justly come pu
on him.

Franklin the Wizzard and the confessor of the
Poysons was hanged at Tyburn, as most justly he deser-
ved, and the Countesse her selfe though pardoned by the
King, lived afterwards a discontented life, being neg-
lected by the Earl of Somerset; and towards her latter
end being much tormented in her conscience, Shee
would oftentimes cry out at the injuries she had done
to her first Hsband the Earl of Essex.

Thus be the persons never so great, or the contri-
vances never so close, you see that murder at last is o-
pen-mouthed doth and never go unpunished.



Sold. by P Stent

The Life, Death, and Tragical Execution of the ever renowned *James Graham, Marquess of Montross, Earl of Kincardine, &c.*

OF all the impotencies of malice and revenge, there is not in History any such relation, as this touching the death of this famous and most noble person. Ambition, advantage and interest have been the usual incentives to such outrages; but in the violent and deplorable end of this *Hero* there cannot be seen the footsteps of any the aforesaid inducements, no nor so much as of the worst revenge that ever yet was taken by consent and designment of so many. If we consider him, we shall find him to be the most approved, valientest Loyal subject the *Scotch Nation* ever bred; if we consider his enemies we shall find many of them to have been Nobles, learned and able men; if we consider the times he lived in, they were full of trouble and danger, if the state, in as great turbulency as those times and its own prevalent corruption could make it, so that *Scotland* had never more need of Gallant resolute and knowing men to steere and assist her in those tumultuary Seas which the Volge swelled by the rage of a mad Clergy had raised in that Kingdom; if we again consider his enemies in the same times and state of affairs we shall find them doing all they could, their very uttermost, to embroyle and confound their own Countrey, and at last reduced it by their divisions and separations of their fellow subjects, under the yoke of the *English Common-Wealth*, whom before they had so powerfully assisted in their rebellion against both of their lawful Sovereigns; a crime in them so much the more ugly and abhorred because it was so unnatural.

This

This is it alone which abates the wonder of this perpetration upon the life and dignity of this Marquess, as lesser faults are extenuated by greater; and therefore leaving the guilt among the complices and confederates in it till the conclusion of this doleful Tragedy, we will particularize the most memorable passages of this honourable persons story, till his exit.

He was born and descended of one of the most ancient noble families in Scotland, one of his great Ancestors having been the Champion and restorer of his Country, and much celebrated for many illustrious actions in the *Scotch Chronicles*, having been Regent or some such supreme Officer in that Kingdom during the disputes for that Crown betwixt Bruce and Bayliol, From that time his family continued in great luster, with the title of *Mentros*, which in this person was advanced to a Marquissate by his worthy achievements, the ancient splendor of his house being not only equalled but gloriously surpassed. To his other dignities this being added, *The Kings gouverneur General of his Kingdom of Scotland*, Tantamount to the same eminency of that his famous progenitor.

In the beginning of the *Scotch* troubles he was thought to be very forward, with the rest of the Nobility in the business of the pretended reformation, and upon the raising of arms there by the Covenanters, was made a Brigadier with a Command over 2500 Horse and Foot, which he passed first of all the *Scotch* army over *Tweed* in the year 1639. and that the better to amuse the Grandees of the Rebellion, underhand maintaining intelligence with the King, and giving him an account of their proceedings.

After *Newcastle* taken by them in the year 1640 some jealousy was had of him by the Covenanters, being led thereunto by some papers discovered which had either dropt or been taken out of the Kings pockets by Duke *Hamilton* or some of his confidants (that family being enemies and at feud with the Marquess) whereupon he and Lord *Napier*, were presently secured and imprisoned, but upon the pacification soon after concluded let again at liberty

soon after the war began to flame in *England* which had been kindled in *Scotland*, and the Parliament at *London* addrest themselves for supplies and assistance to their good brethren, of whom they had solately well deserved in giving them 100000*l*. Whereupon the command of the Lieutenant General of the army which they had raised to march into *England* was proffered him notwithstanding those former proofs & evidences of his Loyalty to the King, which they thought to overweigh with this great trust and employment. But the Marquess retaining those disgust at his late restraint, or not willing to palliate longer his dutiful respects to the King when his affairs required an open and strong assistance modestly refused their proffer, and presently after with my Lord Ogilby fled out of *Scotland* and came to the King at *Oxford*, where he discovered to the King the full intents of the Covenanters and that assuredly they would invade *England* in the beginning of the year 1644. VVith the contrary whereof Duke Hamilton had to posselt with the King and the Queen, urging his own and his families influence upon the *Scotch* Parliament, that the King was totally surprized with this Alarm.

He obtained therefore of the King a Commission, the *Scotch* being entred *England* (according as he had said) to be Governour of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as also letters to the Marquess of *Newcastle* to furnish him with men and Ammunition fit for such an expedition; but upon his address to the said Marquess he could obtain no more then 100 horse and 2 field pieces, besides his letters mardating to his Officers in *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* to spare him vvhat men he could, vvich amounted in all to 800 foot and 8 Troops of horse; vvith these forces the gallant Marquess marched into *Scotland*, but in passing over the river *Anan*, the *English* mutved and forsook their colours, so that he vv as compelled to retreat to *Carlisle* and there with those few Loyal *English* that staid vvith him sent the Lord Ogilby to the King to acquaint him vvith vvhat had happened to the beginning of his enterprise

never

Nevertheless he resolved not to give it over thus, but understanding that all ways and passages were so hard that it would be a difficult task for him by force to get into the *West* of *Scotland*, where the *Marquess of Austin* was to land some 2000 *Irish*, to his assistance he determined to pass disguised in the company of two men, *Sibalds* whose man the *Marquess* went for, and so came safe to the house of his cousin *Patrick Graham* of *Innisbrack* in *Perthshire*, where he had news of the aforesaid *Irish* being 1100 landed in the *Highlands* whither he presently marched, and whither came to him 800 men more out of *Achal*, with these the *Marquess* resolved to attempt the *Covenanters* at *Perth* having by the way an addition of 500 men more under the Command of the *Earl of Kilpatrik*; near this City the *Covenanters* being 7000 in number, resolved to fight him, whereupon ensued a battle in which they were totally overthrown 2000 slain, and more prisoners, and the City of *Perth* submitted to the conqueror.

Forth with the *Marquess* not staying to attain any place pursued his fortune, and finding the *Lord Burleigh*; an other *Covenanting* General, at *Aberdeen*, gave him battle, overthrew him, & the vanquishing enemy running into *Aberdeen*, his army pell mell entered with them and took the City, where he had not too dayes rested but his scouts informed him that the *Marquess of Argyll*, his implacable enemy, was at hand with a greater army then any of the rest, wherefore he retired, intending to pass over the *Spey*, where another army awaited him; being thus beset, he with too much care falls sick but having some Castles to friend soon recovered, but yet no sooner then through want of intelligence and carelessness of scouts he found *Argyle* and *Leitham* on his back, wherefore he kept himself in the hills till by the advantage of the night he escaped and though most of his prime soldiers forsook him got into *Abol* again, and there joyned with *Maddennel*.

Being thus informed he follows Argyle unto his own Country which he harassed with fire and sword and overtaking the said Argyle at Loughaber though newly supplied from the Lowlands, he totally routed him killing them for nine miles together, to the number of 1500. Many of Argyles family were here killed, he himself saving his life by boat: From thence returning to Brecht he puts to flight a great party of horse under Hurry, and then offered battle to Henry Bayly newly sent for out of the Scotch army in England which was refused by that wary Commander; the Marquess finding his army to decrease retreated again to the mountains, but understanding that Hurry was marched to fall upon the Lord Gordons new levies to which purpose he was sent by the Marquess, he resolved to oppose him with all speed, and to fight with the enemy now disjoyned, having therefore met with the Lord Gordon he hastened against Hurry, so strengthened with the assistance of all the Country thereabouts, that many began to think of retreating, when intelligence came that Bayly with a stronger army from the South had prepossessed the hills, and therefore of necessity he chose to fight with Hurry, whom after a cruel fight he vanquished, 2000 Foot being slain the horse saving themselves by a base flight.

Bayley being now supplemented with the broken forces of Hurry and another reserve from the Earl of Lindsey was at last drawn to a fight though against his will by the rashness of the Lord Balcanis, and after a most bloody battle was defeated at Alford 2 July 1645.

Upon this victory and the addition of other forces under the aforesaid Patrick Graham and Mac-Donnell he marched directly into the heart of the Kingdom, frightening thereby the Parliament from their Sessions at Saint-Johnstons near whereunto he had a considerable body of horse joyned with him under the Earl of Aboyn and others: having found out the enemy he proffered them battle in that Champion country. After many traverses and refusals to fight, at last the
Covenanters

Covenanters engaged at a place called *Kilsickfield*, where they received their greatest and almost fatal overthrow, 6000 being slain on the place scarce a 100 foot escaped, the horse fared little better, but their heels saved some, amongst whom many of the Nobility who fled out of the Kingdom many wayes; the rest submitting to the Kings governour and taking part with him.

This famous victory reduced the whole Kingdom to its obedience, the victor being complemented by all the Cities in the Nation to admit them into his protection. Whereupon he marched to *Edenburgh* but the plague raging therein (and having received some prisoners out of the Castle) and the submissions and protestations of future fidelity) marched by it with his army, with which reduced to a small number by the going away of *Aboyne* and *Macdonnell* with 4000 or 5000 of his best men, he entered into *Anandale* and *Niddisdale*, where he was on part recruited with some forces from the Marquiss of *Douglasse*, his whole army not amounting to above 600 foot and those *Irish*, and some 200 new raised horse, his Highland Officers pretending for their absence that there was no shew of resistance in *Scotland*, and that the army in *England* under *Lesbly* was at so great distance being then at *Hereford*, that they could well return before he or any part of his army could advance to him.

By this presumptuous confidence (if not worse) the Marquess was abandoned and left to that ill fortune which soon after followed. For *David Lesbly* being importuned to come to the rescue of the *Kirk* out of *England*, made such hast that he was upon the Marquess with 6000 horse before he had received any notice save onely what fight at the distance of half a mile afforded him. He was then quartered with that small army (which was well known to *Lesbly*) at *Selkirk*, from whence having suddenly mounted (being writing letters to the King at the same time) he drew his small numbers as conveniently, and speedily he could into order at a place called *Phillips Haugh*, but
Lesbly

Leslie pressed so hard and so mightily overpowered him, though some 120 horse, consisting most of Noblemen and Gentry in the right way twice repulsed him, and then were forced for want of reserves to fly, that the day was presently lost, the foot cut in pieces, the Marquesse himself (at first concluding to leave his life in the place, at last plucking up his heart to safer resolutions) hardly escaping out of the midst of his enemy with some of his foresaid horse, and from thence made away (carrying with him some prisoners, notwithstanding some prisoners into Athol and there vigorously having received new levies to prosecute the war,

To this purpose he importunately solicited the Marquesse of Huntley to concurre with him effectually for the carrying on the Kings affairs; but he jealous of anothers greatnesse and honour could not comply to any purpose, and at last abruptly refused which in the end proved his own ruine, being beheaded soon after Montrosses depature of the Kingdome, which happened thus;

The King having been worsted in England and no hopes of raising another army, being in person besieged in Oxford as the last and worst of remedies had put himself into the Scots hands then laying before Newark, upon his coming to them the first thing required of him was that he should send his commands to the Marquesse presently to disband and depare the Kingdome. Thus the King partly was compelled and partly willing to do, the one for a stronger obligation on the Scots whom he was forced to trust, the other for a generall peace which they should see he would endeavour to attain, though with so apparent diminutions of his strength, which then rested wholly in the Marquess and accordingly upon receipt of these Commands from the King, who had artticed a Months time for his stay and provision, he obeyed disbanded his unwilling army, and prepared for his departure

But now the subtile and cruel malice of his enemies first appeared for it, having been agreed, that the Parliament of Scotland should find him shipping, they deferred it till the very day before limited for his exile, and that Ship unrigged and unfit, as well unprovided of all necessaries. The Noble Marquesse therefore seeing this cruell practice of his enemies, which was to seize him as a Traytor, in not obeying the Command aforesaid; there lying some English Ships to intercept him at his designed place of enbarquement, was forced to find out a bark that lay in the Haven of Montresse, and disguised as a servant to one Mr. James Wood his Chaplain in a Cock-boat, came aboard the said Vessell the 6. of Sept. 1646. and being so cleared of his enemies, he passed over into Norway and thence into France, where he was proffered the place Generall of all the Stranger Forces in that Kingdome but through the malignity and hatred of Cardinal Mazarine to the whole Scotch Nation in general, it took no effect. And the like Honorable and brave Commands that were tendered him by the Emperour, but they were too farre distant; his mind bending still homeward.

Till the Kings death he continued this his peregrination, and then betook himself to his Majesty, Charles the II. at the Hague, where he was Nobly and according to his desert welcomed by that Court. But the Scots driving on a Treaty with the King whom they had Proclaimed, had by a particular Article debarred the Marquesse of returning home, that being one of their pratilynaries which must be agreed on. He therefore fore-seeing the issue, before any conclusion should be made of that Treaty which was then in agitation; resolved presently with what forces he could get, which he was raising in Denmark, Holsteyn and Brandenburg; having procured shipping, and some mony by means of the Queen of Sweden, to transport himself into Scotland, and make better conditions both for his Majesty and himself.

Upon

Upon this design he imbarqued himself (though the ill Omen of the losse of 2. Ships with men and armes, might have deter'd an indifferent resolution) but with the rest of his new raised company, and some Scotch Gentlemen who were ambitious of venturing their lives and fortunes with him, and arriv'd about July at *Cathnes* the furthest point Northward in Scotland, where he published a Declaration, protesting his coming was onely to the removing some persons who had bin instrumental in the death of the late King and were as stubborn and disloyal towards this; but the people stirr'd not onely stirr'd some few Islanders, who were ill armed, and worse trayned. He had scarce set footing in the Highlands, when the Van of the Scotch Army commanded by *Mr. Straughan* and *David Leslie* following him with 4000 horse, fell immediately upon him and routed his small Army, 200. were killed, and 1200 taken; he himself for the present escaped cutting his way thorow. But after 3 days having changed cloaths with a Highlander was discovered and betrayed by the Lord *Aston* to *David Leslie*, who brought in triumph to *Edenburge*, where after many indignities and contumelies done to so great a person, they condemned him to be hanged upon a Gibbet 50 yards high, his body to be quartered and set upon 4. principal Gates of 4 chief Cities, which was done with the greatest ignominy and barbarity as ever the Christian World heard of. though he bore all their insultations with a most quiet and pleasant mind, asking them if they had no more disgrace (as they thought it) to put upon him; and then courageously and yet meekly submitted himself to their cruelty.

Reader, For my part I am astonish'd at this salvage-
nasse, especially since it was chiefly committed by the
chief of the Kirk Ministers and such like; but *quos
perdere vult Jupiter hos prius dementat*, questionlesse, the
men were mad; for see what a deluge of misery broke
in upon them. The English Common-Wealth then so
filled in a short time utterly subverted both Church
and state, captivating both in a most direfull manner.

the utter infamy and reproach of the Scotch Nation, whom peradventure and probably enough God might have been pleased to rescue by the hand of this right Valiant, wise and expert Captain. They have bitterly expiated his and other Noble blood spilt upon his score and therefore I leave the Nation in general to the sad remembrance of it.

As to his particular Enemies, we have seen the divine Vengeance satisfied upon some of them, the Marquess of Argile his closest and most mortal Foe, passing the same violent though not the same manner of death. But Guthreyone who most bitterly inveighed against him at his death going the very same track; and others nor yet sure to escape the reach of the Law, though for a time God may please to respite them. *Vindex sequitur a Tergo Deus*—and therefore speedy repentance and confession of that inhumane guilt will be their only and most consulted security.

We have seen for a conclusion and to eternize the memory of this Right VVorthy Hero, the resuscitation of his Honour (while his enemies shall perish as the dung) in the solemn magnificent funerals of his scattered limbs before the illustrious pretence and nobility of that Kingdom, of which, an Account is already given.



The two Sons of Mr. Sonds of KENT.

The Contents.

Mr George Sonds of Kent having two Sons, the one named George the other Freeman, doth give the like education to them both. The younger quarrels with the Elder about a Doublet, and observing that his Father did most begin to affect the elder, he conceals his hatred for a while, but afterwards taking his opportunity, he most inhumanely butchered his brother, being in his bed asleep, and brings his Father to behold him wallowing and lost in his blood, for which most barbarous murder being immediately apprehended, he was deservedly hanged for the same,

Tragicide

Exatricid, or one brother killing of another, as it is, the most unnatural so it is one of the oldest sins in the world, when there were hardly any more then two brethren, yet, as if mankind had been then too numerous, we shall find one of them killing the other; we shall find *Cain* killing his brother, his brother *Abel*. Because the oblation which *Abel* offered to God was more acceptable to God, therefore *Cain* would now make a new oblation to himself, and sacrifice his brother *Abel* to his own fury. The quarrel betwixt these brothers was not for a doublet (as betwixt the two *Sonds*) for *Adam* their Father was but newly in his breeches, and those so homely and so slightly made, as if he would leave no cause of contestation or of boasting to his proud posterity, either for the richness of the stuff, or the curiosity of the fashion; neither could they quarrel for the plurallity of Acres, who had all the world for their possession; the jealousy and the bloody effects of it was because the younger brother was more acceptable to God, as the elder here in this story (which we are now come to represent unto you) was more acceptable to his Father.

Sir George Sond a Knight of an ancient family in *Kent* was married to a fair and accomplished Gentlewoman, who being ravished from by an untimely death, she left two sons as the dear pledges of her self to the tender care, and education of their Father, who in all particulars was as indulgent to the one as to the other, differed not much in their age, and were alike in their stature, as their physiognomy. Being put forth to a good School they testified the abilities of their Schoolmaster by the many singular instructions they received from him, and this conveyed a great joy to the heart of their Father who came oftentimes to visit them, and to see what proficiency they made in their studies of good letters.

In which indeed they were so early accomplished that about fifteen, or sixteen years of age they were bound for the University of *Cambridge* and were placed in *St. Peter's College* under the government of a care-

and leaired Tutor who having milover some years in the Studies of Logick and phylosophy, and being both quallified for the Degrees of batchelieur of Art. Their father took them from thence with an intent to prefer them to the Study of the *English* Laws in the Inns of Court.

But what study can alter Nature. It is indeed recorded of *Socrates* the Phylosopher, that a Mathematician looking on him admired the masculines of his profession, and the strictnesse of his discipline, having a Physiognomy so Effeminate. Whereunto *Socrates* made answer, that indeed by nature he was lascivious; but by industry and circumspection he had corrected that infirmity.

Oh that this young Gentleman could have contained such a happy conquest over himself. VVe find his eldest Brother to be of an affable temper, and of himselfe disposed to the exercise of virtue; but this young man was of a contrary humour, being of a sullen Contention; difficult to be pleased, perverse to all, and as effects to his own Father as to a Stranger.

And yet see what good society can do, as long as hee enjoyed the happinesse of his brothers company, and some others with whom he was trained up; untill the strength of youth spurred him on to gallop with loose Rains of Rage to his own destruction.

His elder brother living now with him in their Fathers house, by often Discourse and Commerce with Mrs *Anne Delaune* his Cousin German, did fall in love with her; and did court her and woo her in the way of marriage, she lived with her Father at *Lingstead* not far from his Fathers house.

The Young Gentlewoman seemed at first unwilling by reason of the near contiguity of their blood, but being at the last overcome by the importunity of his sighs and protestations, and by the eloquent perswasell of his complexion, which spoke him a true Lover, she did accept him at first for her servant, and not long afterwards was ready to embrace him as it were

for her Husband. This was not carried with so much privacy, but one Mr. Hutchinson having notice of it did write to Sr. George Sonds to this effect, he thought his Son George did come to his house out of love to Bowling, but he now perceived that it was out of love to his Cousin Anne DeLaune, and that if it were not timely prevented, they might make themselves sure together,

Cousin,

THere is a businesse going on betwixt my Son and You, altogether against the liking of your Parents, And if you proceed in it, it will be the ruine of you both, for I shall never give way to it, so unlawful I do hold it for Cousins Germans to marry. And therefore if you will go no further in it, I shall be a good Friend to you and take care to provide you a fitting Husband.

The young Gentlewoman replying

SIR.

It is already gone so far that I think my Cousin George will not consent to what you propound, but if he be willing I shall not be against it, yet I think he will not.

SIR George having thus attempted to breake the thread which began to wind it self into a knot, returned home and meeting with his son George, told him that he had heard a business of love betwixt him and his cousin Anne de Laune and willed him to lay it aside, it being distasteful both to him and to his Sister who esteemed not only to be ignorant of their love but also to dislike it as much my self.

To this he promised obedience. and discontinued his accustomed Journeys to Lingstead for some few dayes, but being solicited by some friends who privately acquainted him with the constancy of his Kinswomans love and her wonder at his long absence, he earnestly besought his Father to give him leave to wait upon his Aunt, who with much difficulty gave his consent unto it, but withall strictly charged him not to renew his love to his cousin. He had not been gone long, but his Father followed him, and finding them both rogues

ther he commanded them very roundly to lay aside all thoughts of a match, the marriage of Cozen Germans being odious alwayes, and much abhorred by him, he also declared to his son in his cosins presence that if he was so undutiful as to marry her, he must never look to come within his doors again.

The Father being gone, the yong man immediately followed him, and his Father commending him for his dutifulnesse advised him to forbear to go any more thither which counsel he carefully observed, and having receive several letters, and invitations from his cosin to assure him how welcome he should be to her, and to complain of the injury of his absence, he once for all acquainted her with his resolution in this ensuing letter.

George Sands to Mistris Ann Delanne.

Cosin,

I Have of late received many letters, and messages from your self and my Aunt your Mother, inuising me to visit you, and rendering service as an affectionate lover. I must confess the error of my youthful thoughts not able to fathom the depth of Reason or Religion did for a time make my saucy deviate, and strain my love into affection, but what ever my thoughts or intents were then, the matter being known unto my Father, I observe so much aversness in him that I cannot go on. Besides I beseech you (sweet Cosin) to consider that we are so near in blood, that I fear God will never prosper such a marriage. Therefore I earnestly intrat you to have me excuted from a farther progress; and desire you likewise to have us more thoughts of it, but quite lay it aside the contixuance whereof will have so much evil in it, as will work not ouely for the unhappiness but the ruine of us both, to avoid which shall be the desire and indeavour of yo^r truly loving cosin.

George Sands.

This letter was very unwelcome to the yong Gentlewoman, and to her; Mr. Sands nevertheless continued in his resolution, and to give no occasion for future solicitations he for a while abandoned his Fathers house, and privately retired to a friend in *Suffex*.

The Elder brother having a farewel to his love, his yonge brother Mr. Freeman Sands becomes strongly inamoured on gallant yong Gentlewoman who was said to be intirely possessed with an estate of four hundred pounds a year. This love the Father also heareth of and indeavoureth to divert it, but he finds his son Freeman of a temper quite different from

M

his

his Elder brother, for he is obstinately resolved to have her chome what will of it. This makes the Father to give way unto it, but the land which he offers to estate him with not answering his expectation, he leaps from love into a fury and conceiving with himself that if his brother were dead, he should be the sole heir; he is tempted by the Devil to contrive his brothers death.

Much about the same time his brother being returned from *Suffex*, and having some business that called him to *London* by an obvious mistake (rising early in the morning) did put on his brother *Freemans* doublet, and being come home desired his brother that he might have his own again, which he obstinately denied, although his Father did use his authority therein, and did command him to give it him, whereupon his Father said unto him. *I see son Freeman this is nothing but wilfulness to cross your brother, to whom you have no reason to be so dogged, for I tell you, I dye, you must be beholding to him, and whatsoever your flatterers tell you of a thousand pound a year or more that you have, which your Father cannot keep from you, I who know better then they, tell you plainly, that you have not a groat but what you must be beholding to your Father for, and that it is in his power to leave you as little as your Uncle Nicholas had lost him. And therefore you need not carry yourself so stubbornly against him, as if all were your own already; I tell you these cross humours of yours, if you continue in them, will ruine you.*

These were his Fathers words, but he spake to a deaf young man who had no ears either for truth, or reason, for he would and did keep the doublet, say his Father and his brother what they could.

Now he became so inflamed with choler and fury, that he would not onely have his brothers doublet but his brothers blood also. With indignation he heard the words of his Father, and scorned to be beholding to his brother for his maintenance, and vowing revenge, he onely waited for an opportunity to affect it.

Three months were now elapsed since this contestation happened, and young *Freeman*, the better to conceale his bloody resolution, did ever afterwards entertain his Father and his brother with all the duty, and respect could be imagined, in so much that all former quartels seemed to be buried and quite forgotten.

Sir George Sands having been some weeks a prisoner in *Sponor Castle* was now newly come home, when his younger son

son the better to gratulate his advent, did resolve upon the hour of the premeditated murder of his brother. Night being past he comes to his brothers chamber, and entering into it, he finds him fast asleep, he returns therefore to his own, and taking an iron Cleaver in one hand, & his steeletto in the other, with the one he beates out his brains and with the other doth stab him in seven or eight places in or about his heart; and as if he would have murdered his Father by the report of what he had done, as he had murdered his brother by the fact it self, he came to him with bloody hands, and with a barbarous and boasting tongue relates unto him the wonder of his Atchievement, he takes him along with him and brings him to the bedside of his brother whom he trembles to behold gasping, and wounded & weltring in his own blood.

If the young man had in him any seuce either of Grace or Durisuness, the pleasure of his Father towards him might have perswaded him to thoughts of humility and repentance, and to pacifie that anger which so highly he had provoked; but we see him so far from compunction that he seems to defend himself, and in a manner excuse the villany he had committed; we do find him all along of a proud and an implacable spirit which violently hurried him from one distemper to another, to his confusion.

Now he is committed to the common Goal, and now some of his sin and thoughts of remorse do grow upon him. The melancholly of the place in which he was bringing him by degrees to a more serious contemplation of his wretchedness: he calls for ink and paper, and writes to his Father this following Letter.

Freemans Letter to his Father

Dear and ever Honoured Father,

IN the midst of all the distresses of my sad soul, the tenderness of your love, and Fatherly indulgence doth bring with it much comfort to my disconsolate spirit, which is a little revived by your loving Letter to the high Sheriffe, whereby I have this liberty to present the most dutiful condition of a penitent Son. Good Father let me upon my humble request obtain your gracious pardon, and forgiveness of all my former disobedient actions, and admit me, I beseech you into your prayers, that I may be thankful to my heavenly Father for this respite of life, and imploy the short remainder of my dayes in Repentance. Prayer, and other holy duties, that so thereby I may win comfort to my poor soul here, & through the merit and mercies of of Christ my Saviour enjoy everlasting blessedness hereafter, Which God of his infinite mercy vouchsafe unto you, Dear Fa-

ther, and to me your most affectionate and obedient Son F.S.

NOr long after, at the Assizes held for the Goal delivery in the Countrey of Kent, he was condemned to be hanged, and accordingly being brought to the place of Execution, the Countrey came from all parts in great multitudes, to see a young Gentleman in the Flower of his Age, to suffer the pains of death for so unparalleled a murder. When he came to the foot of the ladder he looked round him with a perplexed countenance, and immediately ascending it, he made this short Sheech unto them.

Although Christian friends, through the heinousness of my Offence, I am become unworthy to live in this World, yet I hope such will be your charity, that at this my last end I shall have your prayers. I praise God I am come to a sense and sight of my sin; I feel the weight of my burden, and I come hither to be eased of it. I am now at my Journies end, and I hope God will strengthen me to look death in the face courageously, for that G O D who hath promised free pardon and remission unto all penitent sinners, through faith in Jesus Christ, will by his blood purge and cleanse my soul from all uncleanness, and deliver me from blood guiltiness. Therefore once more let me intreat you once more to pray unto God for me, that I may be presented to my heavenly Father without spot or wrinkle, and without blemish, and that he would receive me into everlasting peace, and into the glorious Estate of his chosen Angels in Heaven. O Lord into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit.

The people who before were oppressed with sorrow to behold so sad a spectacle, were now relieved to some comfort, to see the penitence of the young man, and to hear what a good end he made. A Psalm being sung, the young man betook himself to a private prayer where giving many testimony of devotion, he at the last covered his eyes with his cap, & beseeching the Almighty to cover his sins with the Mantle of his mercies. The sign was given, and the hangman performed the last act that was due unto his Office.

It is a wonder to consider what were the censures and discourses of the people as in throngs they departed from the deceased malefactor. Some congratulated the serious Religion of his tears, and the devoutness of his Repentance. Others there were that pitied his youth, but most of them, as it is most common in such sad accidents, extolled the elegancy and handsomeness of his person, but when they weighed the greatness of his crime, although the tears of his Father were put into the ballance to mitigate the weight, they all concluded that the sentence of death passed on him, and the Execution of it, was no wayes disproportionable to the height of his Offence.

Butler and Knight. The Contents.

Nathaniel Butler coming to London, falls into the company of loose and dissolute persons; he neglects his masters service, and in process of time grows acquainted with John Knight, and taking the advantage of his Masters absence he gains the opportunity to lie with him, and discovering in the till a round summe of money, he could not content himselfe untill he had cut his Friends throat to be master of it. Robert Titchburn Lord Mayor of London comes to the prison of Newgate to him to see the pulses of his conscience, who at that time for a greater murder had a more heavy burden on his own. He prays with him and for him, as well he might. Butler being found guilty was condemned to be hanged neer unto the place where he committed the murder, which accordingly was executed Aug. 31. in the year 1657.

Nathaniel Butler was an apprenrice by indenture to Mr. Munday in Carter lane, and was afterwards turned over to John Abbot a Drawer of cloath in the old Exchange, and was turned over again by him to ~~the~~ Mr. Goodday of the same trade in Carter lane, where note by the way, that these Turnovers are seldome good, and it is rare if one of them among twenty arrive unto the reputation of a citizen. It had been well if this Butler when he had exchanged his old Masters could have changed his vices also, and left his levity and lasciviousnesse behind him, but taking them along with him, let him never so many Masters he is become a Slave to his owne passions, and is not onely wilfully seduced himself, but he secretly also infecteth and corrupteth others.

Mr. Worth, a citizen of London, being gone to Bristoll Fair upon the affairs of his own trade, took one of his apprentices along with him, and left behind him another apprentice, John Knight by name, to manage his affairs at home in his absence. This young man being acquainted with Butler desired him to be his bedfellow untill his master and fellow apprentice should return from Bristol. Thirteen or fourteen nights they lay together, and were very familiar and intimate. During this time, not any of Mr. Worths Family, Knight himself excepted, did know of Butlers lying in the house, for it was so closely carried, that he came to him about nine or ten of the clock at night, and

and returned in the morning to his own masters house before that any one was stirring.

On the Tuesday morning *Butler* accidentall observed where some baggs of money were in *Mr. Worths* house, whereupon the Tempter and tentation at once did suddenly grow upon him; nevertheless for the present he dissembled his intention, and returning, according to his custome in the evening, he could not sleep all that night.

On Wednesday he pretends extraordinary love and familiarity to his companion, in the morning they go a drinking together, and in the afternoon a fishing: the bait which the fish were caught with was made in the Tavern, but the bait which tempted and which caught *Butler* lay bagged up in the till in *Mr. Worths* house. Returning from fishing, although they had but ill luck that afternoon, yet they were resolved to have some fish to supper however; whereupon they bought a piece of Salmon, and the better to digest it, having drank off three half pints of Sack, they retired to their lodging.

The desperate resolution which *Butler* had taken to murder his companion, the better to possesse himself of the baggs of money, did keep him waking all that night; thrice he rose up and with his prepared knife was ready to cut the throat of his companion, thrice he lay down again, the intimacy of their acquaintance, and the obligation of humanity dissuading him from so impious a murder.

But whither doth not the accursed desire and hunger after Gold inforce a man? The day breaking, he breaks through all delays, and taking once more the fatal knife into his hand, he curteth the mouth of his Bed-fellow up to the ear, and thrusting his hand into his mouth to prevent the out-cries of murder, after a half an hour contestation with him; he at the last cuts his throat aswell as his mouth, and going down the stairs he seizeth on the money, and shifres for himself. The Maid finding a bloody shirt lying on the Counter in the shop, called in some of the Neighbours who going to the Chamber where *Knight* lay, they found him with his feet on the corner of the Bolster, and his Head traversed towards the lower end of the Bed; A lock of Hair was discovered in his right hand, and some scattering hairs were found in his left; They were all struck with amazement.

The Coroner being sent for, came immediately, and having summoned a Jury of four and twenty of the Neighbours, they did sit upon Inquiry concerning the Murder, and the Murderer. People of all degrees were admitted to go up into the Room

Room, and view the bloody Corps, which the next day was decently interred; In the mean time the Coroner and Jury were at a stand; they found the Murder, but could not find the Murderer, although many indeavours were used for the discovers, and many persons secured that were suspected. At the last a Neighbouring Apparentice who came on Wednesday in the afternoon by Water from Hammer Smith, affirmed that on the same afternoon he saw *John Knight* fishing with another young man, and described him by his Person, and his habit. And it being informed that one *Nathaniel Butler* was a great acquaintance of *John Knight*, some were sent to Mr. Gooddayes House to inquire after him, he was met at a Turners shop at the Corner of Breadstreet, and being demanded whither he knew one *John Knight*, he presently faltered in his Speech, and at the first denied it, but afterwards acknowledged that he knew him. Hereupon they desired him to accompany him to Milkstreet, which he denied, pretending extraordinary business of his Masters, that called him another way; they perceiving that he began to be suspicious of them, did follow him at a distance, and used so much diligence and vigilance, that one of the Martials-men seized on him, as he was crossing the way from his masters door, and bringing him to Mr. Worths House, they searched him and found his Leather Drawers to be much stained with blood, And the Martial of the City going in his own person to his Masters house, did break open a Trunk which *Butler* had newly bought, and finding there two baggs of money with *Mr. Worths* mark on them, he immediately returned, and calling for a Cord he bound his hands, and carrying him before Sir *Robert Titchburn*, then Lord Major, he voluntarily confessed, that he saw the money on Tuesday last looking into the Till as he was combing his hair, and that there was 10. pounds in both baggs; he confessed that on Wednesday night he came to *Mr. Worths* house, and was in the back-ware house, when the Doors was locked in. And that being in bed with *John Knight*, he made proffers to cut his throat, which afterwards he effected, as aforesaid,

Moreover he confessed that having opened the Till, and took out two baggs of money, he went home to his masters house to bed, and took the two baggs of money into the Bed with him; And in the morning after he was up he bought a Trunk, which cost 8. shillings, and put the mony in that Trunk, but was in such an amazement that he knew not what to do; And that he came on Friday night to Milkstreet, but knew not what to do,

He

He condemned himself in general for his ill led life, having been addicted to gaming, drinking, and abuse himself with women, and other vices, where to the Devil did intire him in order to his black or bloody sin of murder. He revealed many of his Accomplices, and what an evil Instrument he had bin for them, and gave an account of their wicked practises in wronging of their masters to their own, and their masters ruine.

The Lord Major having committed him to Newgate with a strong guard, he gave order that he should have the assistance of *M. Venning*, *Mr. Yearwood*, and some other Ministers to converse with him, and coming himself to the prison twice or thrice to him, he would pray with him, and it was always observ'd that he would be very ready in his prayer, as good reason he had for to be, having as great a caule on the same black account, to pray for himself.

Not long afterwards the Sessions began in the old Bayley, where *Butler* was arraigned for his life upon 2. Indictments, the one for Murder, and the other for stealing the 2. baggs of mony, to both which he pleaded guilty, and accordingly being condemned, he received this sentence; That he should be led back to the place from whence he came, and from thence carryed to the place of execution, which was appointed to be in Cheapside towards Milkstreet, where he committed the murder, and there be hanged by the neck until he were dead.

On Munday, *August 31.* about 7 of the clock in the morning he was brought in a Coach from Newgate to Cheapside, where a Gibbet was erected facing Milkstreet in view of the House, where he had committed the bloody murder. And there confessing himself to have bin a grievous sinner in the whole course of his life, he desired all others; especially all that had bin his Companions to take heed of sin, shewing them how horrid a thing it was to sin against God, advising them likewise above all things to beware of presumption, and to be warned by his Example, for said he, If you will go in sinfull practises, & hope for pardon, God will keep his pardon, and you shall keep your sins. Then he prayed for himself; *Mr. Yearwood* the minister being also present prayed for him; And having taken a little respite, and prayed again for himself, he commended his soul to God through Christ, and said, Now I am launcing into the Ocean of eternity, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit; The Executioner turned him off the Ladder.

And to end the Book in the same Words as we did begin it, There will be BLOOD FOR BLOOD.

This

THis truly Honourable person Sir Henry Hide, Brother to the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England, being sent by King Charles the second, soon after the Martyrdom of his blessed Father, upon a message to the Grand Signiour, by being also then Consul of the Morea, was by some sinister information, and treacherous practise misrepresented to the Vizier, as an uncommissioned person to the English business in that Port; By the treachery and artifice of some of his Enemies, he is conveyed on Ship-board, and so brought to England, and at his arrival laid in the Tower of London; from whence after an unreasonable and unjust Triall before the Committees of Parliament, and the Council of State, they not allowing him the benefit of his defence in his most facile Italian Language, being a great stranger to his Native Country, he was brought to his Judgement, which was that he should be beheaded over against the Old Exchange London, which was accordingly executed (Titchburn being then Sheriff) where he spake these dying words.

Sir Henry Hide's Speech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution, March 4. 1650.

REader, Take notice, that this Speech following is published in those very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be some abrupt breakings off, and other expressions not so smooth as might have been, yet I could not with honesty alter a word, and therefore have I tied my self to his own expressions, that I may neither abuse the world, or the dying man, or my self.

THe Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London, and also in his company one of his Servants, and Dr. Hide.

Sir Henry Hide. I Am come to put in practice the Christian Profession, and as I owe a death to nature and sin, now I pay it upon the score of grace.

Dr. Hide. Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.

Sir H. Hide. Looking round on the People, he said, A populous City, God bless it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he said, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a good Mr. to you, be you a good servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind *John*; Have you my things about you *John*?

Then staying for his servants, they being not on the scaffold, he said, I had rather have my servants then strangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he said, pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to suffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are so comforted: Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. Hide. If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I seek only the company of your Christian prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I shall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, my Kinsman is of no use, you may be useful about my body. I hope Mr. sheriff that you'll give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes Sir,

Sir H. Hide. And likewise for liberty of speech, and that it shall please you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of England) that I may speak my own sense (I am now going into the presence of Almighty God) a very little, without any disturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you shall

Sir H. Hide. *John*, where is my coffin?

John. It is here Sir.

Sheriff. Sir it seems these men cannot be found.

Sir H. Hide. But if Mr. Barret could be found. After some stay, Mr. Barret being not found, the Sheriff spake to him saying.

Sheriff

Sheriff You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir. H. Hide Where is the place of standing, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry.)

Sheriff. Which way you please you may stand which way you will, but that way you must lie (pointing towards the Exchange,

Sir H. Hide. I am indifferent: it is not the way to Heaven where a man stands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had

Sir H. Hide. That is no hindrance to my felicity.

Dr. H. de. God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forsake you that have put your trust in him.

Sir H. Hide I will open my heart and my mouth with thanksgiving (if this Gentleman please to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultry, he put off his Hat, and said, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, good will to men.*

CHRISTIAN People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Christian-like, I humbly beseech the assistance of your Christian prayers, that by the benefit of them my passage may be the more easie: Yet because men in that condition, which it hath pleased God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the discharge of my Duty towards God, I shall use a few words and so dispatch.

I pray all of you join with me to praise this Almighty God, to whom I desire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, so in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And because it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I shall tell you, to the praise of Almighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of England, I have no negative Religion, believing to be saved by the only merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, (putting off his Hat) and whatsoever else is profest in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England authorized by Law; humbly beseeching Almighty God to restore unto this Church her

Peace, Prosperity, and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains onely Christian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottome of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantages he takes to bring me neerer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been mercifull to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour; so that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day seven night I was summ'd before that Justice, which condemned me on *Friday* last, praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the neerer to himself (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I presume is publique, as my punishment is visible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilful, having discontinued my own Country many years, I shall beseech the Christian Charity of all you my beloved Country-men to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in the skilful way of managing: it was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in strange Tongues. I was best skill'd in the *Italian*, { but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Custom here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorow paced Cavalier own my Master. I was told since I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good, so pious, so just a Master, (*putting off his hat*) for that therein rejoyce; I humbly beseech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that heare me this day with thankfulness for it.

As to the business, that another construction had been made and believed here then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weaknesse was in the management,

ment, that was mine : I was sent to serve and protect, not injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here understood, blessed be his Holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) so those Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would seriously consider, for they know it very well, the impossibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embassie objected against me, that my Master never honoured me withall, I was never worthy of it, I was his Messenger, an *Internuncio* for the conservation onely of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, untill such time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Resident, or to send any other; and they themselves know that there was impossibility in me (as I blesse God there was an innocency in me) unto any such intention to do them any harm; for my Masters Commands were point blank the contrary; I was onely sent for their good: as I never owned the Title, so the very Letters themselves speaking no other: I never did so much as think of any manner of Addresse unto the *Grand Signiour*, but gave him the Letter from my Master; the rest of the English Nation that were there present, may, when they please, assert so much. This I would insert, that those Gentlemen, as they have been losers by the miscarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it seems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal. I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmless employment, not invading any, according to his just Masters Order; for indeed I have been alwayes bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the service due from me to Almighty God, to serve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for anything in relation to the present things in *England*, for were I as I spake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black it were impossible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that employment, but I blesse God for his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the best Physick for the curing of my Soul, and those that have

done it, have no more power in then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me but what I am willing to part withall, all that I am going to is desireable : And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a totall Denial of my selfe, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the Bowels of his mercy in Jesus Christ not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any such be in the world, here or wheresoever) but to bring him into his bosome so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evill, for I take him to be the happy instrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I blesse Almighty God : (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *speaking to some that prest upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable hearts, I have been troublesome.

Sheriff. *You have your Liberty to speak more, if you please.*

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that part, Master Sheriffe, that did concern the denial (as it was affirmed by Master Attourney General) of my Masters imployment. Truly Landing at Whitehall. I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have by me; and I hath other good things that God hath blessed me withal, more then all the good Christians in the world, that are not the *Grand Seignior's* Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may conduce to our own safety, enlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the assistance of my gracious Master a confirmation of of my old Commission of *Consulage in Greece* : But as the Embassie, no more then my Credential Letters did speak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those places, which is a Messenger between the own and the other King : They both unhappily died of several deaths, & both violent too. And it is a custome not unknown to you, Mr. Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the world, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick expressions

expressions of reciprocal affection may be performed; but for Embassy, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have used it as a happy meanes to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the bowels of my saviour to forgive those people that have done it, I owe them no harme, so God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlasting life.

As for power I have been long absent here in England, I meddle with none: sufficient to me is Gods grace to the salvation of my soul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, & new Wayes, (that I must say Mr. Sheriff to you, & all others that hear me, I cannot dispence with my conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permission, Mr. Sheriff) to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is straitned) if I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any thing whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the feare of God to doe it. I forgive them with all my soul, and my forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive happiness at the hands of my Saviour: But if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir Thomas Bendish, and all the company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that obedience willingly; that debt I owe to Nature: to pay it upon the score of a subject, because Conscience within me tels me not, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, that I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more other wayes.

Dr. Hide. There was some suspicion that you might impart the way you were upon to some of those servants that were with you.

Sir Henry Hide. I humbly thank you for remembering me of it; & if there be any here of the Turkey Company this day, or any freind of theirs, I shall desire them from a dying man to take this truth, that neither my brother, my innocent brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their disturbance; it was my own business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to evill, or losse though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuse any man, nor

excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of service, & them a great deal of justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of mischief. I cannot answer objections; I find a man may be in *Turkey*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body, I have discontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandements after the Old Way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whosoever, whether I have offended them, or no: I truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to pour his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but instruments; neither at the persons condemning. I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my self, and I beseech Almighty God, that I may be the last that may suffer upon this score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind, as I spoke in general. I beseech God Almighty from my own heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extasies to Heaven, there is that glory I am going to, I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bless his Holy Name; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulness to my Master, that is the most Pious, & most just Prince in all the world. My
Master

Master hath suffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his service, the fault is onely mine. God knowes, I have done nothing in the business, but by the assistance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perseverance in that Christian Religion; in that Loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the world, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Master Sheriff, that I may give satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my punishment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many wayes I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and many thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had strange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his grace into their own bosoms. And God in particular blest that honourable Lady, who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armigh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternall Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all those that know me, and know me not, for since I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in respect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courtesie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodyed into my Religion; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the world, but that the world might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beseech Almighty God to blest and prosper all people whatsoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my speech is imperfect, so is my health. I have forced my self in this Discourse to give that satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to answer it; and I beseech you joyn with me in your Christian prayers, that I may have a passage whether I am now going to give an accompt, not onely of every deed, but of every word.

Then

Then turning to his man.

Sir Henry Hide, John, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him he said,

Sir Henry H de. Honest Freind I have no quarrell with you, you are the welcome instrument, do your work, onely let me see the place, that I may fit my selfe, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You shall when you have prayed; if you please to pray first.

Sir H. H de. I desire to se the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner here's that money which is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being shewed the block, he kissed it, saying,

Sir H. H de. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Masters was, Blessed be God, Blessed be his holy Name (putting off his hat) I have an infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray, Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room,

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir H. Hide. I have (I thank almighty God) done those Christian offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither onely to dye.

Then kneeling down he said the Lords prayer.

Then having praied a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir H. Hide. Honest Friend, I pray give me directions what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarff over the block, he said,

Sir H. Hide. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. Hide. God Almighty strengthen you.

Sir H. Hide. God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; whereupon he said,

Sir H. Hide. Must I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all these diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his man not helping him, he said,

Sir H. Hide. John, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you

you I could neither rise nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir H. Hide. Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying,

Sir H. Hide. I will onely say, Lord *Jesus receive my Soul*, and when I lift up my right hand do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little space he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.



THis Venerable Doctor Hewit being famed for his great piety and learning, and resolute defence of the Protestant Religion, which he manifested in his sermons at Saint Gregories by St. Pauls, where he was Pastor, and also by a blamelesse conversation added thereto, besides that he was obnoxious to the Usurper, by reason of his Marriage, with the Right Honourable the Earle of Lindsey's Sister, was designed by the bloody Tyrant the pretended Protector, for a sacrifice to his unsatiab'e and restless Cruelty; He is therewith secured, and tryed before a High Court of Justice, whose Authority he denied as Legal, and insisted upon his own innocency, and the unwarrantable nesse of their proceedings. That Monstrous Court take him at 3. defaults, in not answering and pleading directly to their charge, and condemn him, which was accordingly performed on the 8. day of June 1658. on Tower-Hill, where he spake as followeth.

The manner of the Execution of that Reverend Doctor John Hewit D. D. on the same Scaffold, on Tuesday the same 8. of June 1658. with his spech before his death.

AS soon as Sir Henry Slingsby's body was removed, as is aforesaid, Doctor Hewit was brought upon the scaffold, whither being come (together with Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmstry, and Mr. Barwick) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the space of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good space.

After

After which prayer he addressed himself to the people in a speech which continued above the space of an hour, the substance of which speech was as followeth.

I am become a publick spectacle to Men and Angels, and (*I* hope) God, who is Omniscient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compassion; and the more, because *I* am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witness to the truth: he himself said, *For this end was I born, for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth: I was brought into the world (the Christian world) for to bear witness to the truth of the Gospel, as a common Christian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Minister of his blessed Word and Sacraments; [Blessed be his Name for that honour and dignity;] and I came into the world to die more immediately for the testimony of J E S U S, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Commonwealth) to be a Member thereof, to bear witness to the truth of the Customes; the Lawes, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof. So I am a Member of the Commonwealth: And methinks it seems to me a strange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges, the Lawes, the Statutes, and the Customs of this Land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the Lawes, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land: And I am here beheld of those that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pittied because I here give up my self willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good; and I had rather die many deaths my self, than betray my fellow-free-men to so many inconveniences that they might be like to suffer by being subject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.*

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Sollicitour* having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners of the Court against his Highness, I did often (when brought before the Commissioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *Engl.* though I had no knowledge of the Law, yet I had instruction from those that were learned in the Law, & had several Law-Cases & Presidents put into my hand, though not by them & urged several Law-Cases, & made my appeal, First for the judicature

dicature that I was to be tried by, whether it were according to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the said Act? I did appeal to have the said Act argued by learned Lawyers on both sides, & then to be resolved by his Highness's own Council, which was denied me. [This by the by] I pressing the Argument made a second Appeal that those Judges if they would singly give their several Judgements that it was a just & lawful Court of Judicature, I would answer to my charge; I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highness's Council, and pleaded against me. That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead & answer to the Charge. What was then said further, my spirits being faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court: It seems it is a custom in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they answer not the third time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded against as mute: [I had no such knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those defaults; and when I would have pleaded, & resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the painted-Chamber, two Petitions were presented the same in effect; the former the Title was mistaken: Yet because the Title was mistaken, & no answer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) presented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in such haste lest they should be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed my name, & there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not; & this was taken so ill, as if I put an affront & contempt upon the Court, And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then because of that mistake, they sent word, I should have my answer when I came into the Court; & my answer was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the charge to be drawn against me: to give such unjust things against me: I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that upon so slender and small ground

grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of such simple ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours, no advantage should be taken against me to my prejudice, that in as much as I understood nothing of the Law, and having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be lost in the severity thereof, meerly for speaking a word out of simple ignorance, I made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken against me to the prejudice of my person: and there was to me a seeming consent; for the President told me, there should be no advantage taken against me: and upon these considerations I am afraid there was too great uncharitableness. But I pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my soul, and I desire that even those that shed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the occasion of my coming hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning my self, as I am a Christian, and as I am a Clergy-man. First as I am a Christian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, so I was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is the Church of *England*, which I dare say for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till a sad Reformation had spoiled the face of the Church, and made it a query, whether it were a Church or no? I say, it was more purely Divine and Apostolical, then any other Doctrine or Church in the Christian world, whether National, or Classial or Congregational: And I must tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, so I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and shall give a most just Confession of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am so a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schisms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively so, that as I hold Communion with, so I love and honour all Christians in the world, that love the same Lord JESUS in sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with those truths that are absolutely necessary and clearly demonstrated in the Word of God; both in the Old and New Testament, though in charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for salvation through the me-

merits of Christ Jesus, his blood I rely on, his merits I trust to for salvation of my own Soul: though to this Faith Good Works are necessary; not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Christ his death, by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you, I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Privileges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withall in the world.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practice thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars for a Plot, of having a design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it; I so much tremble at the thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: Nor ever had I correspondency or meetings with such persons as would have carried on such a design. It is said likewise I entertained the Earl, the Marquess of *Ormond*; To my remembrance I never saw the face of that Honourable person in my life. It is said one Lords day I did preach at *Saint Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*. and kist the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall say For these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those places than threescore miles. It is said that I kept correspondency with one *Mallory* and *Bishop*: They are persons I have heard of their names, but never saw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not know

know they know me, nor do I know them at all, but onely as I have heard of their name. And whosoever else hath suggested such things against me, I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midst of a sheaf of Corn: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the City on fire by sedition and combustions, and promoting designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those who are Judges of the High Court, that upon examination of the business they have not found me a medler at all in these affairs. And truly I must needs say therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought such accusation against me, and irritated his Highness against me. I will not say it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was rash zeal which caused me to be sentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church. and as a Member of the Community where on my behalf I have been speaking, I cannot but do as our saviour himself did for his Disciples when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them, and ascended up to Heaven. My trust is, in the mercy of the most High I shall not miscarry; and however my dayes are shortned by this unexpected doom, and shall be brought untimely to the grave: I cannot go without my prayers for a blessing upon the people of this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the Name of God, and beseech God to bless them in all their wayes, and his blessing be upon them.

FINIS.

A BRIEF CHRONICLE

OF

All the chief Actions so fatally falling out
in these three Kingdoms; *viz.*

England, Scotland & Ireland,

From the year, 1640. to this present twentieth
of November, 1661.

CONTAINING

The unhappy Breaches, sad Divisions, the
great Battels fought, number of men, with the
Eminent Persons of Honor and note slain, with
several Debates and Treaties.

ALSO,

The happy Escape by a Wonderful delive-
rance of His Majestie at *Worcester*, more fully
expressed then hitherto: with His Majesties
happy return, together with what passages
of note hapned to this present
November, 1661.

The like exact account hath not as yet been printed.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *William Lee*, at the *Turks-Head*
in *Fleetstreet*. 1662.

THE
HISTORICAL

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CHIEF AGENCIES TO THE
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TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THis useful Manual which hath been so long desired, now offers it self to your hands, the English Iliads in a nut-shell, being comprized in such an Epitomy and Abridgement; yet with so much perspicuity, faithfulness and truth, as would be allowance enough for a reasonable volumn.

Even some small and minute actions, where (like little wires that give motion to the grand Engine) they lead to the main design, are here registred, with a most exact Chronology of their time; but as to passages of greater moment, the actions of the Field, Leagures, Stratagems, storming of Towns and Castles, they have roomy place here, without that bustle they made in the Kingdoms.

And that the memory of those Noble and Valiant Persons who fell, and who survived this fatal War, might be orderly transmitted to posterity, we have also inserted them in their several stations of Command, Life and Death, the irreparable loss of whom fell chiefly on the Royal and justest side.

Abundance

To the Reader.

Abundance of English blood hath been shed profusely in several Quarrels, both at home and abroad before, but never such a slaughter as this, so that it passeth easie Arithmetick, which causeth that the gross of the numbers slain, is as much (of the multitude) as could be recovered.

But behold the greatest misery of this War, the issue of it when it was past, was ten times worse then the War it self, like the Viper, that expires in the production of many: The Medusa of War, brought forth a Hydra of Peace, in a Serpentine Commonwealth, and Democratical Anarchy, we had lost what was pretended to be fought for, as soon as we had done fighting: such our fury, such our strange fate.

This obliged the Collector of this Chronicle to proceed in the tracing of those (till then) untrodde steps of Government, through all the changes and variations during the Usurpation; wherein you shall finde all the most considerable passages and remarks of State, of the War and Treaties abroad with Forreign Princes and Commonwealths, particularly set down, so conform to the Originals, that herein you will have the pleasure to see all over again, which with sorrow you so lately underwent, with the happy restitution of His Majestie, and other passages deduced to this present day.

Olim hæc meminisse juvabit.

Thine,

Novemb 18. 1661.

W. Lee.



A Brief
CHRONICLE
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
England, Scotland, and Ireland,
From 1640. to the end of
the Year, 1661.

NO higher or greater cause can be assigned for this war (setting aside the sins of all Times and Nations, to which the Justice of Heaven is seldom long a Debtor) but the fate and catastrophe of Kingdoms and Monarchies, which do at certain periods of time taste of that vicissitude and mutability, to which other sublunary things are more frequently subjected.

The secondary causes of it, are so many and so uncertain,

so variously reported and beleev'd, that it would spend the paper allotted to this Epiome in ascertaining them; therefore to contain and keep within the limits of this designment, something onely shall be said of them that was obvious to every eye, not favouring of partiality or affection.

Many disorders and irregularities there were in the State no doubt, contracted through a long and lazy peace, bolster'd up with an universal trade which procured a general wealth, the parent of wantonness; the excess of National riches being but as the burden which the Ass carries, and mistakes for provender; people being onely the better enabled to sustain the future misery with their present plenty.

These conceived abuses in the menage of the State, like ill Humors, where they finde an equal resistance, or over power of Nature, sunck and descended upon the Ecclesiastical regiment too impotent to sustain those general assaults which were given it. The first complaint of the people was male-administration and delinquency of some about the King; this terrified but a few, though it reached the life of that incomparable Statesman the Earl of *Strafford*; some others dreading more the popular fury then their objected crimes, withdrawing and absenting themselves from the present storm impending.

After the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded at Tower hill (the King being forced to assent to the Bill for his execution) all things run a main without any stop to the ensuing breach and confusion. The Axe had but tasted of that blood, of which it soon after glutted it self, all persons of all ranks and conditions, King, Lords, Bishops, Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, Mechanicks, suffering under its edge. A remarkable thing, the parallel of it being no where in our English Chronicles, but so that blood of *Straffords* was at last expiated, as will be seen in the series of our late unhappy troubles.

When this fatal business was over, then began the cry, *No Bishops, no Bishops*, who were at last by an Act of Parliament extorted from the King devoyded and barred from sitting and voting in the House of Lords, or exercising any temporal Jurisdiction; to this the Parliament were the better induced, and the more strongly inclined from several complaints made to them, which were before famous through the Nation, of their hard and barbarous usage of several Ministers and others, for the business of non-conformancy: Amongst the rest the cases of Mr.

Pryn,

Pryn, *Mr. Burton*, *Dr. Bastick* were very notorious. These men at this time in the beginning of our troubles were brought from their prisons in distant remote parts of *England*, in triumph to *London*, and soon after most of the Bishop, committed to the Tower, under no less than a charge of High Treason, which being not to be evidenced, most of them were after some time dismissed upon bail, ouely the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Ely* were reserved to their Justice.

Many honest Patriots there were no doubt of that party which inclined to the clipping and abridging the power of the Hierarchy which they so unhappily mistook, the importunities of the people made others, otherwise principled to swim with the stream; but no sooner this Fit was over, but we were seised all over with the disease of a Civil War.

The King had been so affronted with the daily tumults which those for Justice against *Straford*, and *No Bishops* brought with them, & had so often moved for the prevention and remedy thereof, in vain, that having certain intelligence who the Grandees were that abetted those riotous Assemblies, and also had had a hand in the Scotch Troubles, whose untoward issue and conclusion lay heavy upon his heart, he resolved to seise them in the Parliament-house, and so bring them to a speedy Trial.

This was attempted by the King, but the birds were flown, notice being given the House of Common by one *Langrish*, a Servant of the Queens, of the Kings coming thither to demand the Five Members: But the business ended not so, the House vote it a breach of privilege, and complain of evil Counsellors about the Kings person, who not able or willing longer to endure those indignities offered daily at his Court gates, leaves *Whitehal*, and departs from *Hampton Court*, and soon after the Five Members return to their places in the House, guarded thither in much bravery by the Trained Bands by water.

This added fuel to the fire, that was now ready to flame; nor could another combustion in the sister Kingdom of *Ireland*, which broke forth in *October* some two moneths before give them caution to look to this at home.

The manner of the breaking forth, and the discovery of that Irish Rebellion was as followeth.

Anno Domini, 1641.

ON the 23. day of October, 1641. that horrid Rebellion broke forth there, that day they intended to seize the Castle of Dublin, the Irish being every where else risen and in arms, but the design was discovered by one Owen Conally, an Irish Gentleman by birth and family, but a retainer to Sir John Clotworthy, who being acquainted with the plot by one of the Rebels leaping over a set of pales, whether he pretended to go and ease himself, escaped by the favour of a dark night, ran away, and informed the Lord Justice Parsons with the whole design.

October Upon this discovery the Lord Mack Guire, and one Mr. Mac Mahon were seized in Dublin, the Town, though in a most terrible fright, was presently put into a posture of defence. Advice was sent thorowout the Kingdom of Ireland of the Rebellion, but all too late, for it was universal, and no part of the Kingdom where they were not risen; so that a Proclamation against them, and all raising of Arms, was the best present remedy.

Novem. Notwithstanding the Rebels under the command of Sir Phelim Oneal as General, seize all Ulster except the Castle of Eneskelyn, sparing for a while the Scotch Plantations there; but growing so numerous, that they dreaded not any supplies from the vicinity of Scotland, they at last force them, plunder them, and garrison the cheit places of strength.

Decem. Sir Phelim Oneale taketh Dundalk, and publisheth his Declaration, called, *The Declaration of the Catholique Confederate Subjects of his Majesties Kingdome of Ireland*, flust with many shews of their Religion and Loyalty as could be; and which is notable, assering that they did it to remove that Tyranny put upon their consciences, in imitation of their fellow-subjects of Scotland, who got a priviledge by that course.

Jan. Presently after they besieged Tredah, but after several encounters berwixt the besieged, their relief being defeated at Gillington-bridge, by reason of a mutiny amongst them and the Rebels: The Town was at last freed by a strong assistance and supply sent them from Dublin, under the command of Sir Henry Titchburn, who soon after, upon the dislodgement of the Enemy from the Town, followed him, overtook him, and routed him, recovering Dundalk again by storm, putting all to the sword, while Oneale hardly escaped over the river, and so fled.

Leave

Leave we this Kingdom in a forlorn, miserable condition, and cast an eye homeward. The King was departed from Hampton Court, thence in company with his Queen and his Daughter the Princess of *Aurange* to *Dover* to see them shipped for *Holland*; he returned streight to *Greenwich*, from thence having the Prince in his company to *Theoballs*. Still the difference widened more and more according as he removed from *London*, to which he was importunately desired to return by both Houses by the members thereof who continued sitting; though the *Grande*s of the Faction were well contented with what distance he kept from them, as rendring their pretended jealousies and fears more and more credible to the deluded people. From *Theoballs* the misunderstandings still increasing betwixt the King and his Two Houses, he removed Northward, first to *Royston*, thence to *Newmarket*, and in conclusion to *York*, having received and answered several messages from the Parliament by the way.

Jan. 10.
The King
removed
from the
parliament.

The principal difference between the King and them was the Militia, this was disputed betwixt them, the King claiming it as an unseparable right of the Crown, and the Houses urging the management of it for present satisfaction and safety, and had thereupon nominated Officers, which designation the King disallowed, and now the rupture was visible.

Anno Domini 1642.

THE Gentry and the Generality of the County of *York*, proffer to raise a Guard from amongst themselves for the Kings person; in the mean time, the Parliament desire him that the Magazine might be removed from *Hull*; at which the King being displeased, goes from *York*, and demands the said Town, stores, and Magazines therein, to be delivered to him, which the Governour, *Sir Iohn Hotham*, presenting himself on his knees upon the walls, refused to do, save, that if the King with some small retinue would enter, he freely might.

March.
The King
at York.

This affront very much nettled his Majesty, so that he did very sharply complain of it to the Parliament, but they rather justified *Sir Iohn Hotham*; then gave the King any satisfaction, which made him attempt, for his Honour sake, something against the Town by force, in which enterprise some twenty of the Kings Guards were killed, and so he retreated to

Excluded
Hull
April.

Beverley; where he found a very great addition of Gentlemen from all parts of the Kingdom, who with their duty, presented him their service.

May

In the mean while the Parliament was intent on the business of leaving Arms, though several Patriots of both Houses did what they could to perswade to an accommodation, amongst whom Sir Benjamin Rudyard was one of the chief, who all along warned them of the miseries of a Civil War, and what a shame it would be to them in after times, and so consequently to all Parliaments, if when the King had condescended so far, they should proceed to the effusion of blood upon so unnecessary a quarrel; he dyed soon after the first blood was drawn; and that speech of his on his death-bed is very remarkable, Mr. Pym and Mr. Hamden (saith he) the Grandees of the then Faction) told me, That they thought the King so ill-beloved by his Subjects, that he could never be able to raise an Army to oppose them, which mistake of theirs cost many thousand lives.

June, the
militia
set on
foot.

Now the Militia was on foot, every where the Parliaments Cause had the precedency of affection, their Ordinances being obeyed like Acts; wherefore the King prohibited by Proclamation any Levies, Musters, or of his Subjects any where in England, without his command and set on foot his Commission of Array; which the Parliament likewise inhibit to be obeyed any where, but neither of them signified any thing to those that were bent and inclined to each Cause; so that the preparations for War both of Men, Horse, Money and Arms went on very fast, especially on the Parliaments side at London, where all persons of all ages and Sexes contributed so excessively to the furtherance of the War, that the sum which it amounted unto is almost incredible. This money was borrowed upon the credit of the PUBLIC FAITH, a name much adored then, and as much contemned and hated now.

July

The King finding how the pulse of these distracted Kingdoms did beat, giving symptoms of some violent disease and distemper approaching, redoubled His instances to the Houses for peace, adjuring them to prevent that bloodshed now so threatening and imminent, and they request the like entreaties and obtestations upon him (but not bating an ace, or receding a tittle from their first Demands) so that there was no hopes or likelihood of a Pacification.

His Majesty therefore having called the Gentry of York together

gether at a Rendezvous, protested his unwillingness, as well as unprovidedness for a War, desiring (if he should be thereunto compelled) their assistance in the mainenance of His most just Cause, and then departed for *Lincolnshire* to *Newark*, whether he had sent before his Letters Mandatory to my Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, charging him to desist from raising, levying or exercising any forces within that County, by vertue of his Commission from the Parliament, wherein nevertheless he had proceeded. Here the King convened the Gentlemen of this County, and made to them the like protestations, and having received some small Supplies returned back again to *York*. At the same time the Parliament were listing men apace, appointed their General, and the Superior Officers of the Army.

At *York* the King made the Marquess of *Hertford* Lieutenant General of the Western Counties, intending forthwith himself to set upon *Hull* (a place he had designed once to have made a magazine for *Ireland* to reduce those Rebels, which he had often declared to the two Houses, but they would by no means consent to it) but upon deliberate advice he past by it, onely making one attempt near it, to shew his just indignation, and to satisfie his Honor, where he lost unhappily some twenty men, and marched directly into *Nottinghamshire*.

About the beginning of *August* he came to *Nottingham* Town, and on the tenth of the same Moneth, published his Royal Proclamation, commanding and enjoining all his Subjects to the Northward of *Trent* and twenty miles Southward, to Rendezvous at *Nottingham* the 23. of that instant, where he, according to the purpose of his Proclamation, set up his Standard, where appeared 5 or 6000 men.

August,
The King
sets up
his Stan-
dard at
*Notting-
ham*.

After a view and Muster of these Royal Volunteers, the King proceeded to the nomination of a General, who was the Right Honourable the Earl of *Lindsey*, General formerly for the *Rochel* Expedition; and the Parliament made *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, their Captain General, the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horse, *Essex* about this time departed from *London* in great state and magnificence.

August.

The King leaves *Nottinghamshire* and marched into *Staffordshire*, thence into *Leicestershire*, caressing the Gentry all the way he went, so into the Confines of *Wales*, and laid down at last in *Shrewsbury*, where he much increased his strength; whereupon the Earl of *Essex* was ordered to advance towards the King, and hinder his new Levies, having then Commission to rescue

Sept. the
King a
*Shrews-
bury*.

the King out of the hands of his evil Councillors. He marched therefore from *S. Albans* into *Northampton*, being strong, to the number of 14000 men.

Portsmouth
taken,
Aug. 2.

Portsmouth was now taken by Sir *John Merrick*, having first surprized *Southsea Castle*, and held for the Parliament: *Collo. Goring* being forced to yield it, the Town being commanded by that Castle, before the Marquess of *Hertford* could come to the relief of it, being then besieged in *Sherburn* by the Earl of *Bedford*; *Goring*, according to agreement, passing for the present over into *France*.

A skirmish
in
Worcester
shire

The Earl of *Essex* advanceth into *Worcestershire*, while the Army staid still at *Shrewsbury*, expecting forces out of *South-wales*; to prevent the conjunction of whom, *Essex* sent a party of horse under the command of Colonel *Sands*, betwixt whom, and Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord *Byron*, happened a smatt encounter in the lanes neer *Worcester City*, where at first the Parliament Army had the better, but Prince *Rupert* falling in the Rear, forced them to leave their design: Colonel *Sands* was desperately wounded, his Major *Douglass* was killed, with the loss of threescore men, nevertheless, *Essex* hastily advancing, the Cavaliers quitted *Worcester*, which was Garrison'd for the Parliament.

While the Earl of *Essex* staid here about settling the *Militia*, the King passed directly away from *Shrewsbury*, where he had coyned money out of the Plate freely brought him by the Gentry, to *London*, having got the start of *Essex*, who thereupon doubled his hast after him; the King therefore resolved to fight him, and staid at *Keynton*, whether next morning came the *Essexians*.

Octo 23.
Edge-hill
Fights.

Sunday the 23 of *Octob.* being the same day twelvemonth, the Irish Rebellion broke forth, both Armies met at the bottom of *Edge-hill*, from which the Kings forces descended to the fight. The Earl of *Linsey* commanded the main body, Prince *Rupert* commanded the right wing, the left was commanded by the Lord *Wilmot*. Of the Parliaments side, the Earl of *Essex* commanded the battel, Sir *James Ramsey* the left wing of horse, and Sir *William Balfour*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* the left. Prince *Rupert* suddenly overthrew the left wing of horse under *Ramsey*, but overcharging, and following the pursuit too far, *Essex* seeing the Kings foot destitute on that side, charged furiously, where the General *Lindsey* fighting with a half pike in his hand afoot, was wounded

wounded (of which he presently died) and taken, and his Son the Lord *Willoughby* coming to his rescue, was taken with him; The Standard-bearer also, Sir *Edmund Varney* (so valiantly the Parliamentarians prest upon the Kings foot) was killed, and the Standard seized, but freed again by Sir *John Smith*, who was Knighted under it, and it committed to his defence. Here was also killed the Noble Lord *Aubigney*, with sundry other inferiour Officers. On the Parliaments side were slain the Lord *S. John of Bletso*, who died presently of his wounds, being offered in exchange for the Lord *Willoughby*, and Col. *Tho. Essex* newly come from *Worcester*. The number of the slain on both sides was very neer equal, in the whole amounting to neer 5000 men, and the victory remained as equal berwixt them, the Earl of *Essex* lodging that night (which parted the fray) upon the field where they fought, and the King ascending the hill from whence he came down that morning, keeping great fires all the night.

The Earl of *Essex* next day marched towards *Coventry*, and the King by *Ayno*, where his Army refreshed themselves, to *Banbury*, which was presently delivered to him, and so to *Oxford*.

The King marched from *Oxford*, where by the way to *Lon-* Novem.
don, came Commissioners from the Parliament, tendring Propo-
sitions, and desiring that during the Treaty, the Kings Army
should march no neerer this way, to spin time, while *Essex* could
recruit his Army; therefore the King advanced from *Colebrook*,
and came to *Brainford*, where part of the Parliaments Army, be- Nov. 13
ing the Regiments of Col. *Hollis*, *Hambden*, and the *L. Brooks*, Bram-
for a while maintained themselves stoutly, but being over-pow- for
er'd, some were driven into the river, and there drowned, and Fight.
300 slain, and as many taken prisoners. This brought a general
consternation upon the City of *London*, all shops were shut up,
and all the Regiments, both Trained-Bands and Auxiliary were
drawn out, so that the Earl of *Essex* had a most compleat and
numerous Army of a sudden. Hereupon the King present-
ly marched away, fearing to be incompassed by the Parliamen-
tarians, over *Kingston-bridge* (which he broke down, to stop the
pursuit *Essex* made after him) to *Reading*, and so to *Oxford*,
where he took up his Winter quarters.

The Cities of *Winchester* and *Chichester* delivered to the Par- Decem.
liament, *Marlborough* to the King, and my Lord *Hopton* prevail-
ed against the Earl of *Stamford*; several Townes taken
for

for the King in the West, others for the Parliament in the North.

Cirencester
stormed
Febr. 1.
March

Cirencester had been Garrisoned by the Parliament Forces of *Glocester*, being the midway betwixt that City and *Oxford*, upon this place Prince *Rupert* had a design, though his march that way was given out for the regaining of *Shudly Castle*, out of which Col. *Massey* had smothered the Cavaleirs with wet hay, for after he had passed some ten miles beyond *Cirencester* he suddenly returned back, and surprising the Guards, within two hours time became Master of the place, putting the Earl of *Stamfords* Regiment to the sword, who made a stout opposition, taking 1100 prisoners, and 8000 Arms, and other provisions for war, it being newly made a Magazeen. From thence the Prince came before *Glocester*, summoned the Town and departed.

The Lord *Brooks* and *Northampton* were in Arms against each other in the Counties of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, where several small skirmishes had been between them, at last in March the Lord *Brook* came and besieged *Litchfield Close*, garrisoned by the King, and as he was viewing the approaches to it out of a window in the Town, a single bullet from the Close shot him in the head through the eye, of which he fell down dead, nevertheless the siege was continued, and the Close delivered to the Parliamentarians.

My Lord
Brook
killed at
Litch-
field.

In the North the Queen landed at *Bridlington Bay* with some supplies of money and Arms for the King, and with her, Lieut. Gen. *King*, she was conveyed to *York*, and afterwards met the King at *Edge-hill* where the fight had been. And so ended this year with the surrender at *Malmsbury* to the Parliament again, and the defeat of the Lord *Fairfax*, who was chief of the Parliaments forces in the North of *Bramham*, by the Earls of *Newcastle* and *Cumberland*. *Scarborough* delivered to the King by *Brown Bushel*.

Anno Domini, 1643.

May
Litchfield
retaken
by the
King.

Prince *Rupert* having coasted the Country from *Glocester* into *Wales*, returned back by *Litchfield*, intending to reduce it again, he had not long lain before it, but he compelled the Garrison to surrender: To the releif hereof Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton*, having gathered a considerable strength marched

marched ; these were met by part of Prince *Ruperts* forces, and some under the command of the valiant Earl of *Northampton*, where the said relict was defeated, Sir *John Gell* routed, though the victory cost dear, through the loss of that brave Earl, who refusing quarter was killed by a private Souldier.

The Earl of
Northampton
slain.

After General *Essex* had recruited his Army with new supplies, the first thing he attempted was the siege of *Reding*, which being manfully defended by Sir *Arthur Aston* till he received a wound on his head by the falling of a brick-bat, and the relief brought by the King himself from *Oxford* being worsted at *Caversham-Bridge*, after ten days siege was yeilded by Col. *Fielding* (then substituted Governor) to the Parliament.

April 6
Reading
besieged

In the North things went something equaller then before on the Parliaments side, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had defeated the Kings Forces under the Marques of *Newcastle* at *Wakefield*, and hoyed up the sinking interest of that Cause. *Monmouth* likewise was taken by the Parliaments Forces, as also *Worder Castle* ; but in the West the King prevailed, my Lord *Hopton* commanded there, being a valiant and expert Royalist, for the Parliament the Earl of *Stamford*, and Colonel *Chidleigh*, these opposite Forces met the 16. of May in *Stratton-field*, where the Parliaments foot stood stiffly to the business, but the Horse either through treachery or cowardize, not seconding or relieving their Foot, an entire Victory fell to the Cavaleers, some 1500 of the Parliamentarians being slain and taken prisoners, but do of great account lost on either side. *Chidleigh* afterwards came over to the King ; and my Lord *Hopton* was made for this good service Baron of *Stratton*.

May

16
Stratton
fight.

Now the Parliament flew high in their Consultations at home, the Grandees working upon the sober part of the Parliament, that this action of the Queens, in bringing over Arms, Money and other provisions for the assistance of the King, was a dangerous, destructive business, wound up the anger of the Two Houses to such a pitch that the Queen was proclaimed Traytor, and at the same time, down went all the Crosses throughout *England*, particularly the third of this moneth, *Cheapside-cross* was demolished.

After this beginning of Reformation, the Parliament took the Solemn League and Covenant at *Westminster* ; this was first framed in *Scotland*, and was generally taken by them in the year 1639. the main drift of it was against the Episcopal Dignity,

June.
The Co-
venant
taken.

Dignity, and was now for the mutual endearment of the two Nations (assistance being promised the Parliament from *Scotland*) pressed upon all in *England*, where the Parliaments power was paramount, being taken throughout *London* the fifth of this moneth.

Hambden
killed,

The Earl of *Essex* advanceth from *Reading* to *Tame*, where a general sickness seized upon the Army: during their quartering thereabout: Prince *Rupert* fell into part of their quarters, but the *Essexians* taking the Alarm, and drawing out, the business came to a fight in *Chalgrave* field, where Colonel *Hambden* was mortally wounded. It was observeable, that in this place the said Colonel *Hambden* first listed and trained his men in the beginning of the war.

The Lord Keeper *Littleton* having fled with the Great Seal to *Oxford*, according to the Kings Command, the Parliament voted a new Great Seal to be made.

July.

Lands-
down
Fight.
July 5.

The Parliament to redress their affairs in the West, had made Sir *William Waller* Major General of those Counties, and had sent him down with a well-furnished Army to meet the Kings Army under my Lord *Hopton*, who having cleared *Devonshire*, after *Strafton* fight marched Eastward, where in *Somersetshire* Sir *William* had taken *Taunton* and *Br. dgewater*. Both these Armies met at *Landsdown* neer *Bath*, July the fifth. The Cavaliers were less in number, but supplied that with valour; the fight began about three in the afternoon, and was maintained till neer the same time next morning. Here my Lord *Hoptons* powder was blown up, by which he was hurt himself, and was compelled for want of it to quit the field, and shelter his Army in the *Devices*; of his side were lost in this fight about a thousand: The persons of quality slain, were Sir *Bevil Greenvile*, Mr. *Leak*, my Lord *Denicourts* son, Mr. *Barker*, Mr. *Lower*, and other Gentlemen: The loss of private souldiers was as great on Sir *Williams* side, but no persons of extraordinary note.

Upon my Lord *Hoptons* taking into the *Devices*, Sir *William Waller* presently pursued him, and cooped him up, whereupon a Messenger was dispatcht to the King, to inform him of the desperate condition my Lord was in, if not timely relieved. Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and my Lord *Wilmot*, were sent presently with a party of fifteen hundred horse, who made

made such expedition, that on the thirteenth of *July*, by break of day, they presented themselves alike to besiegers and the besieged (to whom they gave a signal of their relief) upon a rising ground, and presently in an entire body charged Sir *Williams* Army, being received by Sir *Arthur Hazelrigs* Curaziers at first; but they being broken, the Fortune of the day soon fell to the Royallists: The Parliaments Foot, after a little execution done upon them, (the besieged also being ready to fall upon them) laid down their Arms, and submitted: Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *Arthur*, with much difficulty, and greater speed, escaped, and came throughout to *London* with the bad news. Here were slain neer a thousand men, four thousand taken, four brass Guns, twenty eight Colours of Foot, and nine Cornets.

July

This loss soon reduced *Bristol* into the Kings hands, being delivered by Colonel *Fiennes* after three dayes siege; for which surrender he had like to have lost his head.

July 29.

Bristol

surrendered.

These successes drew the King into the West, where *Dorchester*, *Portland*, *Weymouth*, and *Melcomb*, submitted themselves: The like in the North, *Beverley* taken by the Earl of *Newcastle*, *Exeter*, *Bedford*, *Appleford*, and *Barnstable*, surrendered; and after a little dispute before *Exeter*, and some Granadoes thrown in, and firing part of the Suburbs, the great Sconce being taken in storm, that City was delivered to Prince *Maurice*, and Sir *John Berkley* made Governour.

Exeter?

delivered.

August.

It was therefore concluded to set upon *Glocester*, being the only considerable place that held out for the Parliament in the West, and lay very inconvenient, hindring the intercourse betwixt *Wales* and the Kings Countreyes; the King therefore the tenth of *August* came himself from *Oxford* in person before it with a Royal Army, (while it was hardly imaginable where the Parliament could raise another Army) and that done, to march for *London*, which proved a fatal mistake to the King. For if he had gone directly for *London*, there was no opposition in readiness against him, nor any place to stay him. The King therefore summons *Glocester*, to which the Governor and Mayor return a negative answer; so the Guns were set on work, many attempts on both sides, till the besieged had little or no ammunition left them, when on the eighth of *September*, *Essex* having made up an Army with the Trained-Bands of *London*, and new raised men in the respective Militia's and

10

Gloce-

ster be-

sieged.

Gloce-

ster re-

lieved.

Sept. 8.

associated Countie, then entirely at the Parliaments devotion, came to the releif of it, having been encountred at *Stow* in the *Wold* by several parties of Horse under Prince *Rupert*, but he could not be stoppt from advancing. Being come within five miles of *Glocester*, upon the brim of a steep hill he discharged two pieces of Canon, as a signal of their releif, which was answered by the Town, whereupon the King drew off from before the siege, and marched hastily away, intending to intercept *Essex* from returning, his men being almost wearied, and tired out with their hard march and weather. But *Essex* having releived the Town, with all manner of provision, directed his march back again, and falling into *Cirencester*, from whence the King dislodged the day before, and had left some baggage behinde him, took 400 prisoners, and the next day marched towards *Newbery*, and by the way was attacked in *Auborn Chase*, by several Squadrons of the Kings Horse; here was killed that French Marquess Mous. *De la Vejuville*, having behaved himself valiantly.

Auborn
Chase
fight.
Sept. 19.

The next day the King possesst himself of *Newberry*, the place *Essex* aimed at, so that both Armies met here, and began the fight early in the morning; abundance of resolution and valour, was manifested on both sides, but especially the Trained Bands of *London*, performed far beyond releif. Prince *Rupert* was repelled and bearen back to the right wing of the Kings Army, but returned again to the charge with greater fury. This Battel, like *Edge-hill* was dubious as to the success, but something more bloody. The Kings General here was the Lord *Ruthen*, made lately Earl of *Brentford*. On the Kings side were slain near 2500 men, among whom were the Earl of *Carnarven*, who had done the King special service, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the learned Lord *Faulkland* very near the Kings person, with Col. *Constable*. Of the Parliaments side, not any of note slain, save Col. *Tucker*, and some few Officers, the number of their slain being near 3500 men. After the fight was over in the field, a party of Horse under the command of Col. *Hurrie* followed the Parliament Army in the Lanes toward *Reading*, and put them into some disorder, but the body facing about they were repelled back again with loss: And so the Parliamentarians to *Reading*, the Trained Bands to *London*, whether soon followed the General, and the King returned to *Oxford*.

Newb.
first fight
Sept. 20.

This moneth the King pressed by his Protestant Subjects of
Ireland,

Ireland, who were not able to subsist longer under the war, conclude a Cessation with the Irish Rebels, and in November following received a Supply of 3000 men of his Protestant Army which landed in *Wales*, under the command of Sir Michael Ernely, the renowned Col. Monk (now Duke of *Albemarle*) and others, which being by Prince *Ruperts* order divided into other Regiments were made unserviceable; part of them, with the said Colonel being surprised at *Nantwich*, by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

Mr. Pym a great stickler of the Faction, and the onely Grandee of the times died. *Hawarden*, *Arundel* and *Beeston* Castles rendered to the King, *Grafton House* taken by the Parliament, and *Arundel* in the next Month taken again by Sir *William Waller*.

Now according to stipulation and Compact, the Scots enter England with an Army of 2000 in maintenance and pursuance of the end of the Covenant, against this invasion the King protested as a Rebellion, and sent the Marquess *Hamilton* prisoner to *Pendennis*, as having deceived the trust the King put in him, he all along suggesting that the Scots would never attempt such a thing, and yet maintaining correspondencies with the cheif of that Cabal. Several Towns and Castles lost and taken by both parties.

Anno Domini, 1644.

SIR *William Waller* after his reducement of *Arundel Castle*, March 29. marched to finde out my Lord *Hopton*, to cry quits with him for his defeat at *Roundway Down*, both Armies were near one another a good space, for my Lord hovered about *Winchester* and those parts; at *Brandon Heath* near *Alesford*, *Hopton* was drawn up (having a little before in his intended march to the releif of *Arundel* beaten Col. *Norton* into *Chichester*, who endeavoured to impede him) and stood ready to receive Sir *William*, who had taken the advantage of a hill, from which the Cavaliers with fury beat him and drove him to another, where under the shelter of some bushes and trees, he so galled the Kings Horse that they were forced in disorder to retreat on their foot. There was a hollow betwixt both Bodies which each endeavouring to gain, many men found it for their graves on both sides. My Lord *Hopton* therefore seeing the slaughter that

that was made, and likely to continue upon his men, timely drew off his Artillery and Canon, towards *Winchester*, and then wheeling about marched for *Basing*, and so presently to *Oxford*: In this fight was killed on the Kings part, that valiant person *John Lord Stuart*, second Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, who died at *Abbingdon* of his wounds received: Here *Sir John Smith*, *Col. Sandys*, *Col. Scot*, and *Col. Manwaring*, with divers other persons of quality wounded, among whom was *Sir Edward Stawell*, eldest son to *Sir John*, and *Sir Henry*, now Lord *Bard*, besides private souldiers above 1400. Of the Parliaments side few men of note, killed about 900 common souldiers; *Colonel Dolbier* wounded, and *Colonel Thompsons* leg shot off by a Canon bullet.

April. The Earl of *Essex*, and *Waller*, (who had followed my Lord *Hopton* to *Basing*) and there shewed a mind of besieging the House, now joyned their Armies together, amounting to a very great strength, with intention to set upon the King at *Oxford*; wherefore the Queen was sent away with a sufficient Convoy to *Exeter*; in the mean time *Essex* plunders *Abbingdon*, and makes a Garrison of it afterwards. The King, in the mean while, marcheth with his Army from *Oxford* to *Worcester*, which caused the two Parliament Generals to divide their forces again; *Waller* was to go after the King, as they termed it, *A King-catching*, while *Essex* marched with another gallant Army into the West, which was totally lost from the Parliament. The King had but few forces about him, by reason that Prince *Rupert* was sent with the greatest part of the Army to the relief of *York*, then besieged by the joynt power of three Armies, the Scots, *Manchesters*, and *Fairfaxes*. Prince *Rupert* in his way storms *Bolton*, and plunders it.

June. The King having traversed his ground, came back again from *Worcester*, and *Sir William Waller* from out of the skirts of *Glo-*
Cropre-
dy bridg
Fight.
 June 29, *cestershire*, was ready at his heels; so he overtook him neer *Ban-*
bury, at a place called *Cropreddy-Bridge*, *Waller* drew up in Barra-
 sia on a hill, expecting the advantage of the Kings passing the
 Bridge, which the King adventuring to do, *Waller* descends
 from his Post, and falls upon the Kings Rear beyond the
 Bridge, where he was so gallantly received by the Earls of
Cleveland and *Northampton*, that he was quite routed, 600 kill'd,
 and 700 taken prisoners, his Train of Artillery, and many of
 his Officers, so that *Sir William* was forced to fly to have recourse
 to *London* for another recruit.

It was therefore resolved upon this defeat of Waller, that the King should immediately follow the Earl of *Essex*, who was advanced so far, that the Queen who was delivered of the Princess *Henrietta* at *Exeter*, the sixteenth of *June*, in the moneth of *July*, was fain to be gone from *Exeter* for fear of a siege, and carry the young Lady along with her into *France*, where she landed on the 25th at *Brest* in *Britany*. At the beginning of *August* the King had overtaken the Earl of *Essex* at *Leisthel*, his forces in so ill a condition through their long march, and their want of necessaries which the Country people kept from them, that it was concluded an easie thing to conquer them: The King therefore resolved to coop them up, and keep all manner of provisions from them. After two or three daies league in this manner, the Parliament horse broke through the Kings Army by night; the General, and the Lord *Roberts*, at whose instance this expedition was undertaken, got by boat from *Foy* to *Plimouth*; and the foot being destitute, and deserted by the horse, under the Command of Major General *Skippon*, came to a Capitulation, by which it was agreed, they should render their Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, and Stores, into the hands of the King, and have liberty, as many as would, to pass home, they engaging never more to bear Arms against the King; so that by this defeat the Parliament were quite undone in the West, as to present appearance.

Leisthel
thiel surrender.

Aug. 5.
The Earl
of Essex
vanquish
ed in
Cornwall

But though success crowned the King here, it failed him as much in the North, whether Prince *Rupert* was advanced, as was said before, for the relief of *York*: For upon notice of the Princes approach, having with him the bravest Army that ever was seen in *England*, both for number and persons, The Confederate Forces of Scotch and English drew off from before the City, and drew up into a fighting posture. On the 2 of *July*, the Marquess of *Newcastle* & the Prince joyned their forces together: On the third, both Armies met one another upon a great plain, called *Marston-Moor*; the Prince being General, commanded the right wing, General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Col. *Tillier*, the main body, and my Lord of *Newcastle* the left wing, who had a stout Regiment of White-coats, called his Lambs. At the first onset the Prince totally routed the Scots, who were opposed to him, and out of desire of revenge for their unnatural siding with the Parliament of *England*, pursued them so far, that he came not back time enough to the assistance of his own: But most remarkable was the valour

July 3.
Marston
Moor
Fight

four of the English under *Manchester*, led by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who being the Reserve of the Army, when the Prince was so far engaged, fell in so imperiously with the Cuiraziers, that they bore down all before them; the field was now almost cleared, the Scots and *Fairfaxes* men on one side being fled, and giving the day for lost, and the main body of the Kings being discomfited, and Prince *Rupert* just returned to see the overthrow, so that there was none standing in the field, save only my Lord of *Newcastles* men, upon whose Lambs a terrible slaughter was committed, while they discharged the parts of valiant, expert, and Loyal Subjects, refusing quarter, and casting themselves into rings, till there were very few of them left; and it had been a shame for the enemy to have killed such gallant and brave persons. In conclusion, the *Cromwellians* prevailed, killing of the Kings Army 4000 men, and rather more prisoners: The slaughter that was on the Parliaments side was 5000, which fell most upon the Scots, on whom the Prince did fierce execution.

9000
killed at
Marston
Moor.
July 16.
York
yielded
to the
Parlia-
ment.

The Fight being thus over, which was the bloodiest of all the Wars, Prince *Rupert* fled into *Lancashire*, and so Westward, and the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and the other Lord with him, took shipping at *Newcastle*, and departed the Kingdome, and soon after *York* rendred it self, by its Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, to the Parliament.

Basing-
House
besieged

During the Kings absence in the West, and the Princes in the North, Sir *William Waller* had recruited himself, and joyned with the forces of Col. *Norton*, and Col. *Morley*, who had drawn down before *Basing*, a house of the Marquess of *Winchesters*, garrison'd by him, and kept for the King, which being distressed, for want both of Ammunition and provision, was distressed by the enemy; many brave sallies they made, and a multitude of men they slew, so that it was afterwards called *Basing-House*. *Waller* was resolved not to rise, cost what it would; at length relief was put into it, under the conduct of Col. *Gage*, nevertheless he persisted in the enterprise: Till after *Newbery* fight, the King marching that way, the forces left to block it up, rose and departed without it; a little before which *Banbury* siege was also raised by the said Col. *Gage*, afterwards made Governour of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Northampton*.

Siege of
Basing
raised.

Hitherto the King seemed to have fortune inclineable to him, saving in that unfortunate business of *Marston-Moor*. Now the case began to be disputed, *Essex* had raised another Army, aided also

also by *Waller*, and other forces, resolved to fight the King; so it came to another battel at the same place of *Newbury*; the Parliamentarians to revenge their disgrace at *Leisthiel*, the Cavaliers to repair their loss at *Marston-Moor*, it was a cruel fight, only no more were killed in this then in the former, what advantage was lay on *Essexes* side; few men of note were slain on either side, save Sir *William S. Leger* of the Kings, and a Colonel of Foot of the Parliaments. The Earl of *Cleveland* making good the Kings retreat, was taken prisoner, and had it not been for the darkness of the night, the King had hardly escaped them: Sir *George Lisle* performed here signal service for the King, and the Trained-Bands for the Parliament. *Essex* had clearly the field, and from thence marched to the siege of *Dennington Castle*, under whose walls the King had sheltered and drawn his Artillery.

Somewhat before this Colonel *Masse*y had defeated and slain Col. *Myn*, and by intelligence with one *Kirle*, had surprized *Monmouth* Town, and had some other successes against Prince *Ruperts* parties, while he staid about *Bristol*, upon design of new Levies.

Dennington Castle was, as said before, but the King sending a considerable force to relieve it, the besiegers drew off, and marched away, to the great scandal of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Officers then in command under him.

After this sad experience of one anothers strength, the Parliament sent Propositions to the King at *Oxford*, which begat the Treaty at *Vxbridge*, before the meeting whereof, the Parliament had executed Sir *John Hotbourn*, and his Son, their first Champion, for endeavouring or designing to render *Hull* to the King, from which he had formerly shut him out: As also Sir *Alexander Carew*, for betraying his like trust of *Plymouth Fort*.

Also during the designment of a Treaty, the Common-Prayer-Book was abolished by Ordinance, and a Directory set up in the room thereof; and for consummation of all, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was beheaded likewise.

Though the project of a Treaty was now in hand, yet never was the design of the War carried on more fiercely and subtilly. The *Independents* now first appeared, the Army must be new modelled, another General, and other Officers, and no persons, Members of the House, to have any Military Command: (only *Cromwell* got himself excepted) This design was not

Nov. 21
Newbury
second
fight.

Colonel
*Masse*y
defeats
Myn, and
takes
Mon-
mouth.

Decemb
Hotham
execu-
ted.
Jan. 1.

Jan. 10.

The Ar-
my mo-
delled,
and Gen
Farrar
declared

nosd by the *Presbyterians*, who were convinced of some deficiency in their old Commanders, so that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was unanimously agreed upon for General, and under him all factious Sectaries, and wild principled men obtained Command, whilst the former Officers were reduced to the condition of Reformad's, amongst whom, not long after, they cashiered Jan. 11. Colonel *Massey*, having shifted him from his Government of *Glocester*, to a Command in the Army.

Abingdon had been garrison'd by *Essex* in his expedition into the West, Colonel *Gage*, the Governour of *Oxford*, had a design upon it, and in the attempt was killed at *Cullam bridge*.

30 The thirtieth of *January*, that fatal day, began the afore said Treaty at *Vxbr dge*, which continued some 23 daies in dispute, without any power of the Parliament Commissioners to conclude without them, and so ended on the 22 of *Feb*.

Vxbridg
Treaty.

The Parliament forces surprize *Shrewsbury*, but Col. *Rossiter* is defeated in *Leicestershire*, an active man for the Parliament; and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* relieves *Pontefract Castle*, and defeats the besiegers, twice superiour to him in number.

About this time there was a kind of Faction in the Kings Court at *Oxford*, and some alterations betwixt the parties concerning the Kings Council, so that some Lords, *Savil*, *Percy*, and *Andover*, were confined, and the Parliament, that is, the Members of the same Houses at *Westminster*, who adhered to the King, who by the Kings Order were the year before convened at *Oxford*, were for some reasons adjourned till the tenth of *October*, but that Parliament signified nothing.

Mar. 21. The House of Commons voted, that in their new Generals Commission, the words, *For Preservation of His Majesties Person*, should be left out, and accordingly they were so; and so ended the year 1644. the last of the Kings felicity.

Anno Domini, 1645.

WE will begin this year, though we post-date the time, that we may recite all the exploits in *Scotland* together, with the actions of the Renowned Marquess of *Montross*, appointed Governour of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. The year before he came into *Scotland*, attended only by three men, much ado he had to pass, the wayes being so strictly guarded, during the Scorch Army was in *England*: At his arrival in the Highlands, being supplied with a 1100 men from the Marquess

quefs of *Antrim* out of *Ireland*, and another addition under the Lord *Kilpont*, and the Earl of *Perth's* fon, he marched to find out the Army of the Covenanters, then gathered under the command of the Earl of *Tullibarne*, the Lords *Elch* and *Drummond*, confifting of a great force, into *Perthshire*, where at *Tepper-Moor* he obtained a great victory, his Souldiers for want of Arms and Ammunition making ufe of the stones, lying advantagiously on the fighting ground. Here he killed no lefs than 2000 men; whereupon *Perth City* opened its Gates to the Conquerour.

To withftand and repress fo dangerous an Enemy within the bowels of the Kingdome, another Army was raised, and put under more experienced Captains; in the mean while, *Montrofs* had fallen into *Argyles* Country, where he made miserable havock, intending utterly to break the fpirits of that people, who were fo furely engaged to *Argyles* fide. Here the Earl of *Seaforth* followed him with an Army, and the Marquess of *Argyle* had another of the other fide; *Montrofs* therefore refolved to fight with one first, and fo fell upon that party under *Argyle*, which he totally routed, killing 1500 on the place, the rest escaped, and fo the Marquess of *Montrofs* bent his way after the other Army, which he defeated at *Brechin*, being newly put under the command of Colonel *Hurry*, afterwards offers batrel to *Bayly*, who had another Army ready to fight him, but he waited for advantages; whereupon he marches after *Hurry*, who had recruited, and was pressing the Lord *Gourden* (having taken *Dundee* in his way) and at *Alderne* difcomfits him, killing 1300 and difpersing the rest.

Alderne
Fight.

He seeks out *Baily*, to whom was joyned the Earl of *Lindsey*, and at *Alesford* hills forced them to fight, utterly routed them, and obtained a remarkable victory; but that which lessened the triumph, was the death of the Lord *Gourdon*, one that was as the right hand of *Montrofs*, a very Loyal Right Noble Gentleman, being eldest fon to the Marquess of *Huntly*. After this, he comes to *S. Johnstons*, where he alarm'd the Parliament there fitting, and fo into the *Lowlands*, where the Kirk had another Army in readinefs, under the command of the aforefaid *Baily*.

Kilfith
Field.

At a place called *Kilfith*, both Armies met, and a cruel batrel it was, but in conclusion success and victory crowned *Montrofs* head, and almost 6000 men were slain in this fight, the pursuit being eagerly followed for a great way, and the Covenanters

Aug 27.

ters at first fighting very resolutely, but the fortune of *Montross* still prevailed. The Nobility now every where readily assisting him, and the Towns and Cities declaring for him. so that that Kingdome which afforded men and assistance for the invasion of another Kingdome, was not now able to defend it self. The Governour, so was *Montross* dignified, being seized of all places almost of strength, even as far as *Edinburgh*, where some Royal prisoners were delivered him. The Estates of *Scotland* therefore send for *David Leslie*, while *Montross* expected forces from the King under the Lord *Digby*, which staid too long, and were afterwards defeated at *Sherburn* in *Yorkshire*. Upon the arrival of *Leslie*, most of the forces under *Montross*, not dreading an Enemy so soon out of *England*, were departed home; so that *Leslie* finding *Montross* in a very weak condition at *Philips-Haugh*, fell upon him before he could retreat, almost before his Scouts could give him intelligence, and there routs him: He at first resolved to lose his life with the field, but being perswaded of better hopes, he resolutely charged through, and brought the flying remains of his Army safe into the *Highlands*, where he began new Levies, but the fortune of the King failing every where, he was the next year ordered by the King then in the Scots custody to disband, and depart the Kingdom. And so we leave him, till a more unhappy revolution of time.

The memory of this man had almost caused an Oblivion of some things done here, during his great successes, for Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, for intending the delivery of *Hull*, which they had so unhand somely before denied to the King, were beheaded; as also Sir *Alexander Carew*, and at last the Right Reverend Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, for many pretended crimes of innovation and disaffection in matters of Religion, was executed the tenth of *January*. These mens deaths happened in *December* and *January*, 1644. and are therefore here inserted.

To begin therefore the year 1645. *Dennington Castle* was the very 25th of *March* delivered to the Parliament, which was counterpoised with a defeat given *Col. Massey* by Prince *Rupert* at *Lidbury*, being surprized there, and his foot routed; his horse consisting most of Officers, with himself hardly escaped to *Glocester*. At the same time, the Army being new modelled, Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was sent by *Fairfax*, to hinder a conjunction of forces at *Oxford* from *Worcester*, which he did, defeating the Queens Regiment, and afterwards took *Blechingdon House* by surrender, for which *Col. Windbank* was shot to death at *Oxford*. Not

Vide
Gleeches
pages.

April.

Norwithstandiug which interruption, the King marched from Oxford, intending Northward, to recover what he had lost there, with a very compleat Army; and coming to *Leicester*, then garrison'd by Sir Robert Pye for the Parliament, after summons refused, stormed it and took it, the Souldiers for a while plundering the Town, which had been the residence of a Parliament Committee from the beginning. May 31

In the mean while, General Fairfax was advanced from London with his new modelled Army, and by Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms, had besieged Oxford, where he had received a notable salley, but upon news of the Kings success at *Leicester*, presently raised his siege, resolving to fight the King as soon as he could overtake him. June.

The King was now in a dispute, whether he should march upon his first intendments Northward, or staying for some forces out of the West under Colonel Goring, march for London. When he had notice of Fairfaxes advance after him, whom he thought to be taken up at Oxford; whereupon, by the ill state of things, the King was advised not to delay time, but even at midnight to dislodge from his quarters, whether Fairfax was neerly come, and the next morning to seek him out, and to give him battel. June 14

This happened to be at *Naseby* field, on Saturday June the 14. where at the first encounter the Kings Army had the best on't, his right wing of horse discomfiting and overthrowing the left wing of the Parliaments under Skippon, taking Ireton the Commissary General prisoner; but the left wing, consisting of Northern horse, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were clearly for the Kings going Northwards to their own Country to relieve *Pomfret* Castle, made no defence at all. The King was very couragious and active in this field, but the same over-eagerness of Prince Rupert half lost the day, the foot being destitute, after some slaughter, threw down their Arms, and were taken prisoners, to the number of four or five thousand; the Kings Coach, and in it his Cabinet, afterwards most disloyally and dishonestly published to the world, with other Letters and papers; all his Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, bag and baggage taken, himself hardly escaping to *Leicester* that night, and from thence to *Ashby de la Zouch*. After this battel, the Kings Cause and Arms visibly declined every where. Naseby Fight.

Leicester regained by the Parliament upon surrender, while the King made hast towards *Wales*, to the relief of *Chester*, and there Leicester taken

Rowlin
Heath
Fight.
Sept. 24.

there to form a new Army, but *Poyntz*, *Middleton*, and *Brereton*. rising from their siege, met him at *Rowton Heath*, where in the beginning (as usual) the King had the better; but the Parliament being supplied with fresh forces, the King was vanquished there also, and the right valiant Lord *Bernard Stuart*, Earl of *Litchfield* slain, with above six hundred more: Soon after followed the rendition of *Chester*, the King flying back to *Oxford*.

June 28.

The Scots had besieged *Carlisle* almost a year after *Marston-Moor* fight, now it was surrendered by Sir *Thomas Glenham*; but the like success they had not at *Hereford*, from whence they rose with disgrace, and came and sat down soon after before *Newark*.

July 10.
Lampport
Fight.

General *Fairfax* marched after *Naseby* fight into the West, leaving the King to pursue his ill fortunes, and took in *Bridge-water* (having before defeated General *Goring* at *Lampport*, newly raised from the siege at *Taunton* by Colonel *Welden*, who relieved the Governour Colonel *Blake*, though with some losses) as also *Bath* and *Sherburn*, and sat down before *Bristol*, which after a short siege was delivered by Prince *Rupert* upon Articles, and the said Prince, and his Brother, came soon after to *Oatlands*, in order to depart the Kingdome.

Bristol
delivered
Aug. 21.

Basing
House
taken.
Sept. 14.

Cromwell also came with a party to the reinforcing of the siege of *Basing*, and by smothering of wet hay, made his approaches, and stormed it, taking the Marquess of *Winchester* prisoner, with other Officers and Souldiers, to the number of 600 persons.

Novem.

Several Houses, Castles, and Towns, were delivered to the Parliament, while the King kept close in *Oxford*: The Prince of *Wales* being sent West, and under the care of my Lord *Hopton*, in company with my Lord *Capel*, and others; but General *Fairfax* following him into *Cornwall*, *Hopton* accepted of conditions (after the firing of *Torrington*, and the delivery of *Lanceston*, *Saltaish*, *Lizard*, *Dartmouth*, *Mount-Edge*, *Foy*, all being quitted by him gradatim) and disbanded, the Prince taking sail from *Pendennis Castle* to the Isle of *Scilly*, and thence into *France*.

January.

Hereford was also about this time surprized by Colonel *Birch*, *Belvoir Castle* taken, all places now submitting to the power and fortune of the Parliament; and for a conclusion, *Exeter* was now delivered by Sir *John Berkley*, upon very honourable and advantageous articles, to the Lord *Fairfax*; and the Lord

Astley

Afley defeated at *Stow* in the *Woud*, two thousand kill'd, and taken prisoners; and so ended this year, the next beginning with the same face of affairs, several surrenders being made to the Parliament.

Anno Domini, 1646.

After the delivery of *Woodstock*, it was not held safe for the King to continue longer in *Oxford*; but the siege approaching to that City also, the King disguised, in the company, and as a servant to Colonel *John Ashburnham*, with one Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, by virtue of a Pass from *Cromwell*, left *Oxford*, and soon after put himself upon the Scotch Army, then lying at the siege of *Newark*, who sent him away with their Guards to *Newcastle*, and soon after the Scotch Army followed him, upon surrender of that Garrison of *Newark*. April

The King being in their hands by their persuasions and desires, and his own resolvedness for peace, gave Order to all his Governours to make such terms as were most suitable and convenient for them, and deliver their respective Governments to the Parliament, that so the War might be at an end; whereupon, all the Garrisons in the Kings hands came to a capitulation, *Oxford*, *Farringdon*, *Wallingford*, *Borstall-House*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield*, *Cloze*, *Worcester*, *Ragland*, *Conway*, *Pendennis*, and *Scilly Isle* surrendered; at which time also died their former General, the Earl of *Essex*, and was most magnificently interred in *Westminster Abbey*. June 3, Septem.

General *Fairfax* came in triumph to *London*, while the Treaty was on foot betwixt the Parliament and the Scots at *Newcastle*; concerning the delivery and disposal of the King. In fine, upon the price and payment of 200000 pound, the Scots perfidiously, after many disputes, whereby they affirmed it unlawful and dishonourable for them to do it, sold their Native Prince to his English Subjects, and so departed over *Tweed* into *Scotland*, according to agreement. Novem.

Anno

Anno Domini, 1647.

June.

THe English Commissioners, deputed therero by the Parliament, having received the King from the Scots, brought him to *Holmby-House*, one of his Palaces in *Northamptonshire*, according to the stipulation and hypocritical salvo made, that the King should be treated honourably; but with no attendance of his own, either servants or Chaplains, and a Guard upon him perpetually, till in conclusion, *Cromwell* beginning his projected Sovereignty, by an Order from him, to which the General tacitly consented, The King was taken from the Commissioners, and removed by one *Cornet Ioyce* from *Holdenby* to the Army, they pretending an extraordinary kindness to the King and his Party, even to the deceiving of the King himself, by their Declarations and Protestations for Publick Liberty.

In the mean while, the King is carried about from *Holmby* to *Childersley*, *Newmarket*, *Royston*, *Hatfield*, *Windsor*, in progress with the Army to *Caversham*, *Maidenhead*, to *Latimer*, to *Stoke*, to *Oatlands*, being treated with a far greater shew of honour then the Parliament allowed him, with much hopes and many promises of his speedy restitution: His Chaplains, and other persons, engaged on his side, having free access to him, with the free exercise of the Common-Prayer, &c. At last they bring him to *Hampton-Court*, where Propositions as bad as any they tendred, were offered to him again, but these for their unreasonableness being rejected by the King, he being informed of a plot to murder him by some of the Army, fled from *Hampton-Court* privately to the *Isle of Wight*, the said Colonel *Ashburnham* being with him in this disguise also, and rendred himself into the hands of *Hamond*, the Governour of the said Isle, who forthwith certified the Parliament, and they presently vore, that no more Addresses should be made to the King, nor no Papers received from him.

While the Army were thus coasting the King about, tell out a tumult in the City of *London*, the Apprentices and Citizens flocking down to *Westminster* about the establishing of the *Militia* in the same hands it stood before the Army had interposed, and by their instance had made the Houses alter the persons named the fourth of *May*, as being suspected favourers of the King: Whereupon the Lords readily assented to the empowering those of the fourth of *May*, to act as before in the *Militia*.

tia ; and so after a little dispute, did the Commons, some of the same multitude not consented with this, brought back the Speaker into his Chair, the House being risen, and compelled him and the Members back to the House, to vote, that the King should come to *London* to treat. After this tumult (which the King observes in his book to be justly retaliated upon them) the Speaker of the House of Commons, with some forty more, privately departed to the Army then at *Windsor*, complaining of the force ; the other remaining, to the number of 140. meeting according to their adjournment, finding not the Speaker nor his Mace, chose another Speaker, as did the Lords also, their Speaker having withdrawn himself likewise to the Army.

The Army seem to be highly incensed at these Riots of the Citizens, and take upon them the rectifying of those disorders, the fugitive members are entertained, and consultation is held between them what is fit to be done, while the Parliament sitting at *Westminster*, are advising about listing of forces, appointing *Massey*, *Poyntz*, and others, for General Officers, and recall those Members against whom the Army had exhibited a full charge.

But the Army advanceth neer *London*, so that all these preparations, and the stomach of the City soon were dashed, and new agreements made, their Fortifications and Works to be demolished, and the Army admitted to march through in triumph ; so the fugitive Members were defeated again with their Speaker, and all things put in the same bad state and condition they were before, and several Lords, the Lord Mayor, some Aldermen, and divers Citizens of great wealth and quality, are, the one committed to the Black Rod, and the other to the Tower, so that now all things passed in both Houses according to the disposition of the Army, the Parliament being wholly subservient to their designs, having made my Lord *Fairfax* Generalissimo, and Constable of the Tower of *London*.

In *Ireland*, after the Marquess of *Ormond* had delivered up by capitulation, the Government to Colonel *Iones* for the Parliament ; the said Colonel marched out, and fought with the Lord *Preston*, but was forced to fly, being overpowered by him ; but the business came to a second encounter, neer *Trym*, where the victory fell to *Iones*, killing 5470 foot souldiers, taking a very great booty, and a number of prisoners ; and the Lord *Inchequin* defeats another Army under the Lord *Taafe*, where were slain 4000 more of those Rebels ; and Sir *Charles Coote* gave them another

another defeat, so that most of the Towns were reduced, and the Rebellion neer extinguished: The Scots therefore were desired to retreat with their forces out of *Ulster*.

Anno Domini, 1648.

Begin we now with the 24th year, being the last of King *Charles* the First, 1648. wherein the King seemed as formidable in his interest, as ever he was from the beginning of the War. The Parliament was divided, and jealousies betwixt them and the Army encreased every day, Trading stopt. so that on the ninth of *April* another tumult happened in *London* by the Apprentices, who seized the Gates, took a *Drake* from the Lord Mayors, and planted it at *Ludgate*, but the Army horse entring with their General at *Aldersgate*, marched to *Leaden-Hall*, and after a little skirmish dispersed them: Several Petitions for restitution of the King came from several Counties.

S. Fagons Fight. May 8. But in *Wales* a stronger Insurrection broke out, Major General *Laughorn*, formerly a great man for the Parliament, Colonel *Poyer*, and Colonel *Powell*, of the same side, refuse to disband, and presently seize upon *Pembroke* Castle, *Tenby* Castle, and declare for the King; *Chepstow* Castle is likewise taken by Sir *Nicholas Kemish* for the same side: Against these Colonel *Horton* is sent with three thousand men; *Horton* receives a brush, by falling with part of his men under Colonel *Fleming* into an Ambuscado: Whereupon *Laughorn* hearing of *Cromwells* advance also, resolved to fight *Horton*; so the business came to a fight at *S. Fagons*, where the Welsh being taken on a sudden, not intending to fight that day, were presently after the first onset routed, above five thousand of their eight being taken, a great many killed, and the rest sheltered in the two Castles aforesaid. Sir *John Owen* was up in Arms in North-Wales, and had defeated the Sheriff opposing him, but was afterwards taken himself. *Cromwell* storms *Tenby* Castle, and takes it, and after a short resistance, *Pembroke* yielded upon discretion, as to the lives of those three Commanders, whereof one Colonel *Poyer* died by lot; and so *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, (Sir *Nicholas Kemish* being slain by the storming of *Chepstow* Castle which he had newly taken) marched into *Lancashire* to meet the Scotch Army, who under their General Duke *Hamilton*, having joyned with those English forces under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* & Sir *Philip Musgrave*, were advancing for *London* to restore the King. This Army consisted of 24000 men effective.

At the same time also the Kentishmen having seen and heard the usage their Neighbours of *Surrey* had for petitioning for peace, being some of them killed by the Army-guards in *Westminster Hall*, resolved to ask or demand with their sword in their hands, that which the *Surrey* men had been refused. They rose, to the number of ten thousand, and had designed the Duke of *Richmond* for their General, which upon his refusal, was conferred upon the Earl of *Northampton*. To suppress this rising, whether abundance of stout valiant young men resorted out of *London*, General *Fairfax* was sent in person, and to close with the *Londoners*, the old *Militia* was again confirmed. At *Maidstone*, a part of the Kentishmen opposed themselves against the General, maintaining the Bridge so resolutely, that it came to a very hot encounter, so that the General was forced to alight out of his Coach, and led in his men himself. After they had passed the Bridge, they were forced to fight every hedge before they came to the Town, where the fight was continued with the like gallantry, and had any relief come, it would have been a question whether it had not utterly routed the Parliament.

Maidstone Fight,
June 2.

Upon this defeat, the other greater party that were at *Rochester*, slipped away to *Black-Heath*, and from thence ferried and passed over into *Essex*, and made their Head-quarter at *Bow*, but the City stirred not in favour of them, but a party of horse of the Army was sent thither, where after some light skirmishes, they removed further into *Essex*, where many Gentlemen joyned with them, my Lord *Capel*, and others, and so to *Colchester*, whether the General presently after followed them.

June

To second this, part of the Navy revolts also, and set ashore Col. *Rainsborough* their Commander, and *Pontefract Castle* was surprized by Col. *Morris*; and now the Parliament having so many irons in the fire, null those Votes of non-Address to the King, and resolve of a Treaty as the best expedient.

The Navy revolts

To further which purpose, the Prince of *Wales* having imbarqued himself in the *Reformation*, came into the *Downs* with 25 Sail of Men of War, where he landed some men, and had *Deal* and *Sandwich Castles* delivered him; but the E. of *Warwick* and Sir *George Ayscue* making into the *Downs* together, and the Prince lacking victual, he set sail for *Helvoet Sluce* (not being able to do any thing for his friends at *Colchester*) whether *Warwick* also followed him.

August.

This was not all that was done for the King, for this very same time the Earl of *Holland*, the D. of *Buckingham*, his brother the

the

July.
Kingston
Insurre-
ction.

the Lord *Francis*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and others, assembled at *Kingston*, and declared for the King, being about a thousand, and more hourly expected; but Sir *Michael Livesey* falling upon them suddenly; they were forced to leave the Town, losing that Noble Gentleman the Lord *Francis*, who refused quarter, and so speeded to *S. Neots* in *Bedfordshire*, where Colonel *Scroop* fell upon them in their quarters, killed Colonel *Dalbeir*, and took the Earl of *Holland* prisoner, with some forty more, (the Duke and the Earl of *Peterborough* hardly escaping) and dispersed the whole party.

Preston
fight.
Aug. 27

The Scotch Army was advanced now as far as *Preston* in *Lancashire*, where Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, being joyned with Major General *Lambert*, awaited them. At this time also *Scarborough* declares for the King, Sir *Matthew Boynton* being Governour there. August 17. both Armies faced one another, and within two hours time the Scots begin to flinch, so that the brunt of the fight fell upon the English, who sided with them. The Scots being ready to fly, the Parliament Army doubled their courage, and put them to the rout two several wayes. The next morning, being the 18th of *August*, the Scots made a stand, and did some notable execution on the pursuers, but the Army coming up, they fled again, crying *Mercy, Mercy*, so that they might be heard five miles together an end; multitudes were killed, and more taken prisoners; being in number equivalent to the Army that vanquished them. Duke *Hamilton* fled first to *Namptwich* with three thousand horse, there the Country took five hundred of them, and thence to *Vttoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, where he was taken by my Lord *Grey of Grooby*: *Monro* escaped with part of the Scotch Horse to *Berwick*, and so into *Scotland*, but *Middleton* was taken by the way thither.

Cromwell
first into
Scotland.

After it was known which way *Hamilton* took, *Cromwell* followed after *Monro* into *Scotland*, and there begun intelligence with some of those Scots in tendency to his after-design, and after they had cajoled one another, he departed into *England*, having received the thanks of the Committee of Estates for the service he had done their Nation.

Colche-
ster
yielded.
August.

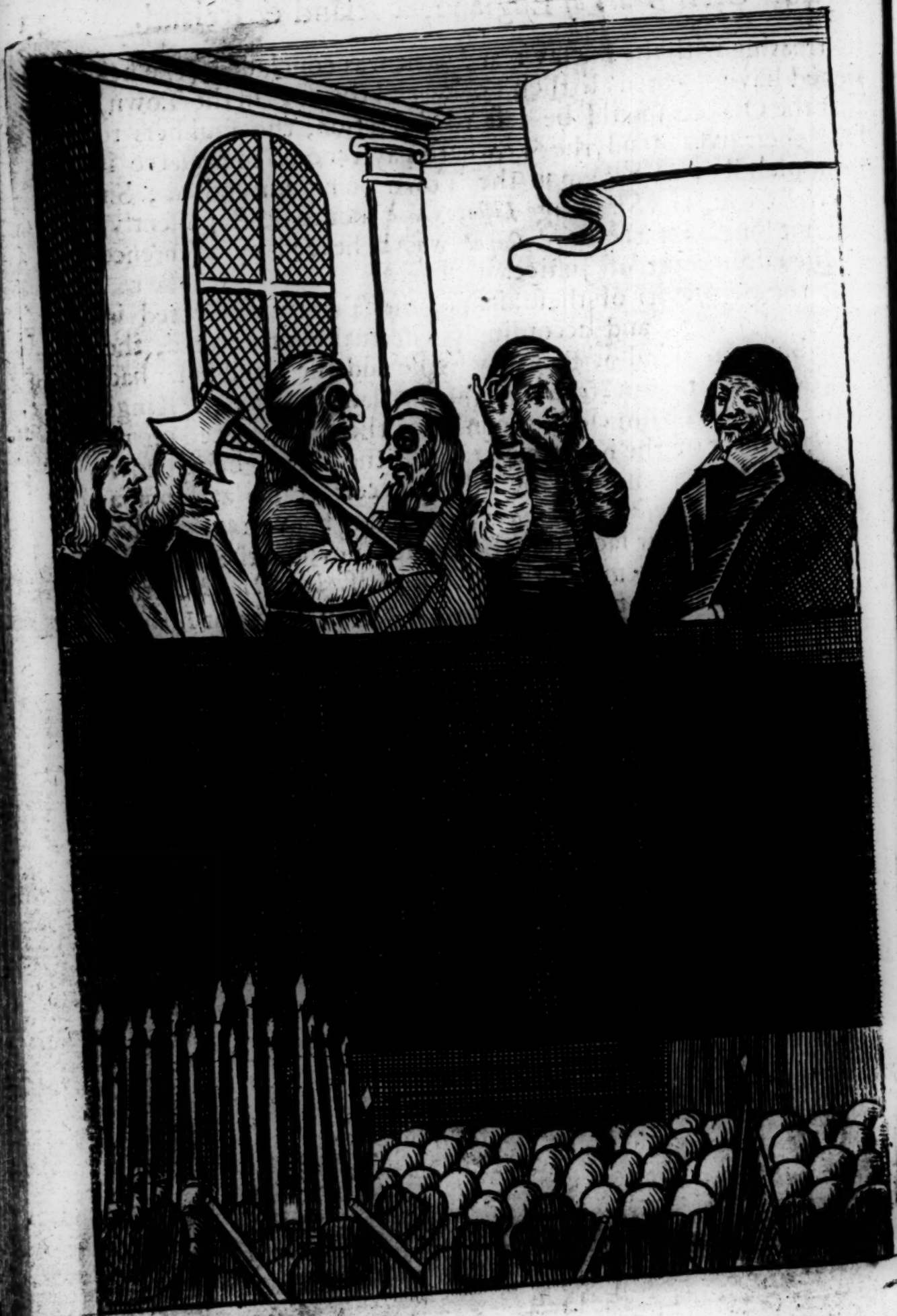
Upon the news of this defeat sent in by General *Fairfax* to the besieged in *Colchester*, a Council of War was held what to do, it was once agreed, to make an eruption out, and attempt the whole Army beleaguering them; but this, through some suspicion amongst the Souldiers of being deserted by their Officers in the action, was frustrated; whereupon it came to a resolve of

of treating with the Enemy : and so it was concluded (the besieged having eaten all their horses and the dogs in the Town) that the Officers should be left to discretion, the souldiers to have their lives , and the Town to pay 14000 l. to preserve it from plunder : Whereupon the Town being surrendred , Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, were shot to death presently, and not long after the Lord *Capel* was beheaded by a sentence of the High Court of Justice.

In the perplexity of these affairs , the Treaty was voted in the *Isle of Wight* , and accordingly effectually prosecuted, the King being in a kind of Regaliry in the said Isle , and so far had it proceeded, that in *November* the Parliament voted the Kings Concessions to be sufficient ground for them to proceed on to the settlement of the Kingdome , when the Army being now Lords and Masters through their late success, came and put a force upon the *House of Commons* , excluding above 140. and by the remnant of their faction in the House , unvoted these Votes, and the Army next remov'd the King from *Wight* to *Hurst Castle*, then to *Winchester* , then to *Windsor* , and so to *Saint James* , and last to the High Court of Justice , where after four times being at that detestable Bar, and refusing to own their Jurisdiction , they pronounced the Sentence, and the order, place, and time of the execution was referred to Colonel *Harrison* , &c. who appoint *Tuesday, Jan. 30.* before *Whitehall* gates, in the open place , where accordingly that execrable murder was perpetrated by the hands of a Vizarded Executioner, to the amazement of the whole world , and to the unexpressible sorrows of this Church and Kingdome. The Kings last words on the Scaffold, being the sum of the Life, Tryal, and Death of that most incomparable pious Prince, are here fully inserted , to serve for all.

Treaty
at the
Isle of
Wight.
October.

I shall





I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word to you here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my peace, would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment: But I think it is my duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear my self, both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first, with my Innocency; and, in troath, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this: For all the world knows, that I did never begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to witness, unto whom I must shortly make an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon: They confess the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly, that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me out. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should, lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they

* C

they are free of this guilt; but I believe, that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the chief cause of all this blood-shed: So that as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; Yet for all this, God forbid, that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say, that Gods Judgements are just upon me: Many times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary: I will only say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me. So far I have said, to shew you, that I am an innocent man: Now to shew you, that I am a good Christian; I hope there is a good man that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular, that have been the chief causers of my death: Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge: And withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdome; for my charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdome. So (Sirs) I do wish with all my soul: (I see there are some here that will carry it further:) that they endeavour the peace of the Kingdome. (Sirs) I must shew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the wayes you ever had yet; as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquests: Certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a just and good cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just title; and then if ye go beyond the first quarrel

that

that ye have: that makes it unjust at the end, that was just at first: for if there be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great robbery; as a Pyrate said to Alexander, That he was the great Robber himself, himself was but a petty Robber. And so, Sirs, I do think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way: Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Successor) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is now out of order.) and to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot; but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this: When every Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns mine own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their liberty and their freedom consist in having Government under those Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the people into that liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am hither come, for if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the

Martyr of the people. Introath Sirs, I shall not bold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this, what I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are best for the good of the Kingdome, and your own Salvation.

After some Ejaculations, he laid down his Head upon the Block, and stretched out his hands (*The Sign*) & had it severed from his body at one blow, by the Vizarded Executioner, who presently held it up, and shewed it to the people: His Head and Trunk were afterwards confined in Lead, and exposed to publick view at *S. James's*; till lastly, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *London*, begged the Body to bury it, which they conducted to *Windsor Chappel-Royal*, and there interred it; with only this Inscription upon the Coffin; *CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND*, MDC. XLVIII.

January. After this most execrable murder, they declared themselves to be a Free State. setting out a Proclamation whe in they declare, that no person hath Right to the Crown of *England*, abolishing thereby the Kingly Government, and debarring of our Rightful Sovereign from any claim, &c. declaring him also a Trayter, with the rest of the Royal Issue; for refusing the publication of which the Lord Mayor *Reynoldson* was outed, imprisoned, and fined 2000 l.

Vide
speech
page 31.
Vide
speech
page 32. In *March* they proceed with their High Court of Justice, newly modelled, and a new President, to the Tryal of these Noble persons they had in custody, about the last years risings, whereof Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, were condemned to be beheaded; the Duke, and *Holland*, and *Capel*, were accordingly executed in the Palace-yard, the other two with much ado were pardoned. *Pontefract Castle* was now rendred to the Parliament by Colonel *Morris*, being the last Garrison for the King in *England*.

Now they had leisure to look towards *Ireland*, whether
Lieutenant

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was sent with an Army of 10000 men, which landed about this time at *Dublin*, where a little before, Colonel *Jones* the Governour having received a supply of 1000 men had sallied out, and beaten my Lord of *Ormond* from off the siege, where he lay with 20000 and upwards, through the carelesness and treachery of the Guards: Here were slain to the number of three thousand, and five thousand taken prisoners; this proved the loss of all *Ireland*; which was then entirely for the King, save this City and *London-Derry*. Dublin freed, and the Marquess of Ormond defeated

Anno Domini 1649.

Cromwell upon his arrival, sets presently forward towards *Tredah*, whereinto the Lord Lieutenant *Ormond* had put a Garrison of choice English, and some Irish; to this Town he gave three assaults, and was valiantly repulsed, but in conclusion of the third, the Town was entred and man, woman, and children put to the sword for three daies in cold blood, with the Governour himself, Sir *Arthur Aston*, a well experienced and valiant Captain.

Anno Dom. 1649. and 1650.

VPon this success *Trim* and *Dundalk* yielded themselves to him, the Marquess of *Ormond* hovering neer him with his Army, but yet not daring to attempt any thing. *Wexford* was the next Town he attacked, which by storm he took also, putting all in arms to the sword; thence to *Passage Fort*, and so to *Waterford*, from whence he (considering the Winter approaching) drew off to quarters, having already possession of most of the Towns of *Ireland*, *Limrick*, *Galloway*, *Clonmell*, and *Kilkenny* excepted, which soon after were reduced by him and his Successor *Ireton*, and that Kingdome was wholly brought in subjection to the Parliament. August.

The next thing that busied the new Commonwealth, was the affairs of *Scotland*, who had long before proclaimed the King, and were now treating with him; therefore they recalled home Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, whom upon *Fairfaxes* refusal of going against the Scots, they now advanced to be General: He came June the last to *London*, having landed at *Bristol* and was highly treated by the Parliament.

Dorislaws that drew up the charge against the King, was killed at the *Hague*, in *May* last; and *Ascham* that was sent

on the same errand to the King of Spain, was killed also by some English men in his Inn at Supper; this did mightily incrage the new Commonwealth, that their Ministers could no where be protected.

According to the conclusion of the Treaty between the King and his Subjects of Scotland, he took shipping at *Schiveling* in *Holland*, and landed, after some dangerous weather, safe in the *Spey* in *Scotland*; having narrowly mist some of the Parliaments Frigots, that lay in wait for him. *Cromwell* therefore expedited his march, and entred *Scotland* with a well-appointed Army of 18000 men, against which invasion the Scots did very much expostulate, and more fiercely prepared to defend themselves.

July 22. The English Army there ore, *July 22.* advanced from *Berwick* into *Scotland*, the Scotch Army lying incamped in the fields about *Muscleborough*, strongly intrenched; divers skirmishes past, and it was wet weather, which very much incommodated the English; nevertheless they take two houses by storm and both Armies then faced one another, the great Guns playing on both sides, but the Scots declined the Engagement, which the English perceiving, marched back to *Dunbar*, and in a corn field, half a mile from the Sea, in a low ground, lodged there *Septemb. 1.* whether the Scots drew and incamped in the high ground above it, making sure of a victory; but *Cromwells* forces charging resolutely to gain the pass, and having mastered it, the whole Army on a sudden fell upon the Scots, and after an hours dispute, though inferiour in number, routed them, killing 4000. and taking 10000 prisoners, 200 Cornets and Colours, 27 Field-pieces, 10000 Arms, and three Lords: These Colours, with those taken at *Preston*, were afterwards set up in *Westminster Hall*, as also those of *Worcester* thereafter. The Scots quit *Leith* and *Edinborough*, which are possessed by the English, who advance to *Sterling*, and fortifie *Linlithgow*.

Several encounters, and parleys were between *Cromwell*, and Colonel *Ker*, and *Straughan*, for the Kirk alone; in one whereof *Ker* was defeated, and taken prisoner; and by the other *Straughan* was brought over to side with the English. *Edinborough* Castle had been long besieged and undermined, but at last the treacherous Governour *Dundasse* delivered it upon Articles.

January. Colonel *Eusebius Andrews*, Sir *Henry Hyde*, were beheaded about this time, and Doctor *Lewen* hanged about the matters of the King, who was soon after crowned King of *Scotland* at *Schoon*,

Schoon, where they had news of another loss, the rendition of *Hume* and *Timplallon* Cast'e.

While the Army in *Scotland* made this progress, another war was breeding at home betwixt the Dutch and us: *S. Johns* had been sent Ambassador thither, and had been very highly affronted; upon his return an Act was made, prohibiting and impeding the liberty and reedome of the Dutch at Sea, which they not brooking, the business came to be decided by blows.

Anno Dom. 1651.

Blacknes Castle was taken by Colonel *Monk*, and at the same time the Presbyterian Plot, laid by Mr. *Love*, &c. for a rising in *Lancashire*, where *M. G. Harrison* had order to attend, was discovered, for which the said *Love*, and one Mr. *Gibbons*, were beheaded at *Tower-hill*, August 22.

The Scots had raised another Army, whereof the King was General: This Army was compounded of Cavaliers and Presbyters, being in all 21000 men; with these the King marched from *Sterling* to *Torwood*, and there regularly incamped; thither came *Cromwell*, hoping to draw them out to fight, but could not, only he stormed *Calendar House* in their view: Nevertheless, in the interim, Colonel *Overton*, by boats, had passed part of the Army from *Leith* into *Fife*, who being seconded by a greater force under Major General *Lambert*, the Scots being alarum'd at this unexpected invasion, send down Sir *Iohn Brown* to drive them out; whereupon a bloody fight ensued, but the victory fell to the English, neer 1500 Scots were slain, and 1000. with Sir *Iohn*, taken prisoners.

After the Army thus was landed on *Fifes* side, and had given the Kings forces a defeat, it was advised the King should presently desert *Scotland*, (the English having now shipt most of their men over, and so given the King the advantage of two daies march from *Sterling*) and by the way of *Carlisle* speedily march for *England*, which was accordingly put in execution; and after a very troublesome march, some opposition being made at *Warrington Bridge* by Major General *Harrison*, (since executed, and there worsted) on the 22 of *August*, having marched three hundred miles in three weeks time he arrived at *Worcester* with his Army, consisting of 11000 foot, most whereof were *Highlanders*, and 3000 horse, made up with some additional English, under the new Right Honourable Earl of *Shrewsbury*,

lury, Colonel *Howard*, and other Knights and Gentlemen, who had escaped with the Earl of *Derby* thither, after the defeat given the said Earl by Colonel *Lilburn* at *Wigan*.

After the King had rested his Army a while at *Worcester*, and summoned in the neighbouring Counties to a rendezvouze, in order to a conjuncture; upon which some small appearance was made (the Rebels drawing neer to attaque the City) the King betook himself to make some fortifications, such as time would permit, at *Vpton* bridge, and about the Town.

By the beginning of *September*, *Cromwells* whole Army, after a sufficient refreshment, and additional forces of the Militia, which were speedily raised in every County, presented himself on every side of the City; the number of them consisted of very neer 50000 men well armed; the first places attaqued was *Vpton* Bridge, which Colonel, now Sir *Edward Massey*, stoutly defended, till being over-powred; and himself wounded, he was forced to retreat, and leave the enemy free passage.

Wednesday the third of *September*, the Enemy resolved to fall on, which they did at several places; first at *Powick* bridge, whether the King himself in person went, and beat back the Brigades assigned to that post; but being necessitated to go back into the City to give other Orders, his forces lacking Ammunition, were forced to give way, and make a disorderly retreat into *Worcester*. Presently upon this, the Enemy charged furiously upon another part, where his Majesty himself in person gave notable proof of his valour, Duke *Hamilton* receiving a shot hard by him, of which he afterwards died; but fresh supplies coming in every minute, and the slaughter falling upon the new raised men (*Cromwell* reserving his Veteranes for the last) the King quit the field: (Some impure it to *David Leslie* not coming with his horse to his succour in time) and drew within the walls: But the Rebels pursued their success, and having cast up a sudden battery, compelled the Fort-Royal to surrender, while another part of the Army entred at another place, and fell immediately to the plundering of the City: By six of the clock the whole Town was gained, and the streets fill'd with blood, a great slaughter being made that unfortunate day.

Between six and seven a clock, in the dusk of the evening, the King, accompanied with the chief of his Nobility, and some sixty horse, departed Northward out of *S. Martins* gate: Having rid a little way, and upon consultation held what to do
in

in that distress of affairs, the Earl of *Derby* advised the King to fly to a house called *Boscabell*, where he himself had found security in his flight from *Wigan* aforesaid: To that intent, one Mr. *Giffard*, an Inhabitant thereabouts, was called for, who with the assistance of one Mr. *Walker*, formerly a Scoutmaster in the Kings Army, with some difficulty, (the King riding all the night) brought him to a place called the *White-Ladies*, a mile beyond *Boscabell*, to avoid suspicion of staying there.

At their coming to *White-Ladies* on break of day, Thursday Septemb. 4. one *George Pendrill*, the youngest brother of the four, being awakened with the loud noyse they made at the gates, and hearing distinctly Mr. *Giffards* voice calling him, ran down in his shirt and opened the door; whereupon the King and the Noblemen presently entred the house, the Kings horse being brought into the Hall, where another consultation was held what should be done for the safety of the Kings person in this exigence: At last it was concluded, that this *George* should go presently to *Tong*, and enquire what news, or whether any parties were stirring or no; and in the meanwhile one *Martin* was sent by Colonel *Roscanrck*, by order of the Earl of *Derby*, for *William Pendrill*, the eldest Brother, who presently came, and there met his Brother *George*, who had brought *Richard* by Mr. *Giffards* order along with him, and informed the King, that the coast was yet clear.

Whereupon all dispatch was made to get the King out before any further danger; the Kings hair was first cut off by my Lord *Wilmot*, then rounded by *William Pendrill*; and at the same time *Richard* had, by direction from Mr. *Giffard*, fetcht his best cloaths, being a jump and breeches of green course cloth, and a Doe-kin leather doublet, the hat was borrowed of *Humphrey Pendrill* the Miller, being an old grey one that turned up its brims; the shirt, which in that Country language they call an *Harden*, or *Noggen-shirt*, a kind of linnen that is made of the coarsest of the hemp, was had of the aforesaid *Martin*, *George Pendrill* lent the band, and *William Creswell* the shoes, which the King having presently unstript himself of his own cloaths, did quickly put on: His *Fuff-coat*, and linnen doublet, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into his brothers hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks before they durst take them up again. The Jewels off his arm he gave to one of Lords then departing.

Straight-

Straightwith *William Pendrill* was brought to the King by the Earl of *Derby*, and the care and preservation of his most Sacred Majesty committed to his charge, and the rest of the Brothers (the Earl himself would have staid, but there was no undertaking security for them both) so presently the Lords took their heavy leave, and departed, every one shifring for himself. The Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the rest of that party, being overtaken at *Newport*, in their march Northward, and routed: the Duke escaped, and found a hiding place at a friends of his Family in *Shropshire*; the rest were taken (the Earl of *Derby* most inhumanely and unjustly beheaded at *Bolton*, with Sir *Timothy Fetherston-Haugh*, and some others elsewhere) and imprisoned; only the Lord *Wilmot* (since deceased, during the Kings Exile abroad) staid behind, and was by *John Pendrill*, through many difficulties, and tryals of several places, conveyed safely to Mr. *Whitgreaves* at *Mosely*.

Now the King and his company being departed, having taken a Woodbill into his hand, went out with *Richard* into the adjoyning wood, called *Spring Coppice*. *William* departed home, and *George* and *Humphrey* went out to scout, and lay hovering about the woods to hear or see if any approached that way. You must note here, that these Brothers had taken into their assistance one *Francis Yates*, their Sisters Husband, who was also with the King in the wood, they being by profession woodcutters: But the King had not been an hour in the wood, before a party of horse, in pursuit of him, was come to *White-Ladys*, and had enquired, and found out by some of the Inhabitants, that the King with a party had been there, as they supposed, but they affirmed directly, that he was gone away with all speed from thence in the said company Northwards. Upon which words, spurr'd on by the expectation & greediness of their prey, supposing the King and his Lords were all together, they made no stay, or further inquisition or search (save only in the house) and rode away as fast as they could possible. This the King was informed of by his two aforesaid Scouts, who straggled for intelligence neer the village.

This Thursday the King continued all day in the wood, upon the ground, *Richard Pendrill* being constantly with him, and sometimes the other three: It proved to be a very rainy day, and the King was wet with the showers; thereupon *Francis Yates* his wife came into the wood, on whom the King at first looks

lookt something dubiously, yet resolutely askt her, whether she could be faithful to a distressed Cavalier: To which she replied, Sir, I will die rather then discover you: She brought with her a blanket to keep the King dry, and his first meat he eat there, viz. a mess of milk, eggs, and sugar, in a black earthen cup, which the King guessed to be milk and apples, and said he loved it very well. After he had drank some, and eat some in a Pewter spoon, he gave the rest to George, and bid him eat it, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment passed this day in Court, but only his Majesty exchanged his Wood-bill for *Francis Yates* his Broom-hook, being something lighter.

The King was hardly brought to fashion himself to their gate, or to bend his streight body down to his feet; the language in his stay and passing to *Worcester*, he could tune pretty well; most of the day was spent in conforming him to their words, till about five a clock that evening, the King with his gallant Retinue of *Richard, Humphry, George, and Francis Yates*, left the wood, and betook himself to *Richards* little house, where he went under the name of *William Jones*, a Woodcutter, newly come thither for work. At his coming, the good wife for his entertainment at supper, was preparing a Fricass of Bacon and Eggs, and while that was doing, the King held on his knees their Daughter *Nan*: He eat very little, ruminating and pausing on his intended passage into *Wales*.

After supper ended, the Mother of the *Pendrills* came and kneeled, and took her leave of the King; so did the rest of his poor mean attendants, only *Richard* went along with the King, to conduct and guide him, it being then dark, and the way troublesome.

Their intended journey was to Mr. *Wolfes* of *Madely*, some 5 miles distant from *White-Ladies*, of whom the King had a good character from his servant *Richard*. By the way they were put to a fright at a Mill-water, by a Miller that had taken into his protection some of the same undone party, so that *Richard* was forced to wade through, and the King to follow him by the ratling musick of his leather breeches.

It was late at night before they got to *Madely*; wherefore *Richard* very confidently knockt at Mr. *Wolfes* door, which his Daughter opening, he desired to be let in, telling her the King was with him: So they both entred, till Mr. *Wolfe* came and welcomed the King, who though wearied, and his feet extremely

tremely sore, yet held it not convenient (of which Opinion Mr. Wolfe was also) to lodge in the house. Here he was informed (which was his main business) that there was no passage to be had over *Severn* into *Wales*, the river being so guarded and watched, that there was no attempting of it without extreme hazard and peril. After some other discourses of the like tendency, the King was conveyed to an *Heyloft*, where he and *Richard* reposed themselves (though the Kings sore feet very much troubled him) that night, and next day, being Friday, and on that night, the same hour they arrived, they set forward to *Boscabell*; having had provision, and some money from the said Mr. Wolfe, his Daughter also bringing the King into his way some two miles, and then she returned.

At his coming to *Boscabell*, the King was so wearied, his feet being blistered with travelling in such course and stiff accoutrements as he had on his legs, and lying in them, that he was scarce able to stand or go, which *Will.* wife perceiving, she stript off his stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed his feet, which gave the King some ease.

The same time Colonel *Carlos*, one that made good the Kings Rear at *Worcester*, and gave the King time to escape, having seen the last man killed in that lamentable fight, was also come to *Boscabell*, a refuge he had used before, where the King met him, the Colonel most humbly and joyfully welcoming him to that most sure retreat.

After a short conference together, it was judged by them both, as the probablest means of security, that the King should betake himself again to the wood: Accordingly, Saturday the sixth of September, in the morning, they went into the wood together, the Colonel leading the way to that so much now celebrated Oak, where before he had been lodged himself: William Pendrill brought a Ladder, by which they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick, and well spread, and full of leaves, so that it was not possible for any to see through them.

When they were both up, William brought them up two Pillows to lye upon, where the Arms and branches were thickest: and the King being over-wearied with his journey and sore travel, waxed very heavy, with a propensity to sleep. The Colonel to ease his Majesty the best he could, desired him to lay his head in his lap, and rest the other parts of his body on the pillow, which the King did; and after he had taken a good sleep (while William and his wife Joan went peaking up and down with anxious thoughts gathering of sticks

sticks with a Nut-hook) awaked very hungry, and wished for some victuals: That desire was soon satisfied, the Colonel pulling out of his pocket a good lunchion of bread and cheese, which Joan had given him for provant that day, and had wrapt it up in a clean Linnen cloth, of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleased with it, and highly commended his good fare: Some other pittance of relief in drink he had also, which was put up to him in a bottle by a long hook-stick.

The King intended not long to stay at Boscabell; therefore Richard was sent to one Mr. Manwaring, an acquaintance of Colonel Callos at Woller Hampton, some three miles from Boscabell, with some instructions, and to enquire if he knew not of any security for one of the Kings ruined party; Mr. Manwaring returned, that himself could not, but would enquire if a friend of his, naming Mr. Whitgreav could: So Richard returned, and brought with him some wine, and other refreshments from the Town.

Neither was Humphrey idle or unemployed, but was sent abroad to lay out for intelligence, which the easilier to come by, he was sent to one Captain Broadwayes of Shesnal, a Captain of the new-raised Militia, under pretence of paying his Mistresses money for a man that was taxed upon her for that service: While he was there, a Parliament Colonel came in to understand of Broadwayes, what further discovery was made at White-Ladies since the time the King escaped; to which Broadwayes answered, he could say nothing more to it, but there was one of that place below, that might perhaps give him better satisfaction. Humphrey was called and examined, but he resolutely denied any knowledge whether the King went other-ways then Northward; but that party being taken, and the King not among them, made the Colonel believe he staid behind, and therefore told him there was a proffer of a thousand pound to any that would discover him, and did thereupon earnestly press Humphrey about the business; but all was in vain, there was no prevailing upon his conscience and duty. The news of this afterwards something amused the King, but the Colonel told the King there was no danger in it, for upon his life they should prove constant and faithful to his Majesty.

At night, the King and the Colonel came down from the Tree, by the same Ladder they gat up, and was brought into Boscabell garden, where he sate in the Bower of it, and drank part of the wine which Richard brought from Woller Hampton,
till

till 'twas very late. But the King was hungry again, and his appetite then served him for a joynt of Mutton, though his Dame *Ioan* (so the King then called his Host) had provided him a dish of Chickens: To which *William* replied, that truly he had none, and to go to the Market would be very suspectful, for they used not to buy such cheer, but if his Majesty would have some, he would make bold, and borrow one of Mr. *Stann-ton*: to whose Sheepecote he and the Colonel presently went and fetched one, and brought it home into the Cellar, where the Colonel stabb'd it with his dagger, and both of them drest it as well as they could, and brought the King up a Hind-quarter of it, which the King presently sliced part of into Scorch Collops, and the Colonel and he fryed betwixt them; which pleasant passage yielded a merrier dispute afterward in *France*, when it was questioned which of the two was the Cook or the Scullion.

The next day being Sunday, *John* came to *Boscabell* from my Lord *Wilmot*, having been sent before to *White-Ladies*, but mist of the King, by reason of his being at *Madely* then, to acquaint the King with the conveniency of Mr. *Whitgreavs* house, there being such a secret place in it betwixt two walls, that a safer could not be imagined: Upon this news it was resolved, that the King on Sunday night late should go to *Mosely*, to the said Mr. *Whitgreavs*, and the Colonel to shift for himself: All that day being Sunday, the King kept himself in the secret place where he lay that night, having been much discommodated through the shortness of it. As soon as the appointed hour was come, *Humphrey* the Miller was ready with his horse that should carry the King, for none other with safety and convenience could be had. This was a kind of War-horse, that had carried many a load of provision, meal, and such like; but now there was put on him a bridle and a saddle that had outworn its tree and irons.

The horse standing at the door, the King came out, intending to have none along with him but *John*; but the other five brothers insisting on the danger of his going so ill attended, so many stragling souldiers lying up and down the Country, he agreed to have them all along with him, and so took his farewell of Colonel *Carelos*, who very disconsolately parted from him.

The King being mounted, the six Brethren guarding him behind, and before, and on each side, *Humphrey* leading the horse,

horse, they began their journey : The way wa something dirty, and every where the horse blundering, caused the King to suspect falling, and to bid *Humphrey* have a care ; to which he returned, that his horse had carried many a heavy weight before, but never the price of three Kingdomes ; and therefore he might be excused by reason of his extraordinary burden,

When they came within a mile of the house, they made fast the horse, and came the foot-way through the fields thither: before the King went into the house, he took his leave of all of them but *John*, they upon their knees crying and praying for his safety and preservation. As they were departing, the King called them back, and said, I am so full of care, that I do forget what I do ; but here is my hand (giving it them to kiss) if God blefs me, I will remember all another day. A promise his Majesty hath most graciously performed.

When he came into the house, with none but *John*, he was most submissly and cordially welcomed by Mr. *Whitgreave*, who presently conducted him to my Lord *Wilmot*, in the secret place, who with infinite gladness fell down and embraced his knees, The first thing they did, was to shift his Majesty, by taking off that coarse shirt, and putting on a finer, and changing his stockings and shoes : Next they consulted about his Majesties manner of escape out of *England* ; whereupon Col. *Lane* was propounded as a very fit and necessary instrument in that business, and agreed on, and accordingly transacted, as before designed by my Lord *Wilmot*, which was, that the never-to-be-forgotten Lady *Iane Lane*, under some pretence of visiting her Sister, and other affairs in *Bristol*, should get a Pass for her Man and her self, and that the King should be the Man, and ride before her.

This was concluded on and done, Mrs. *Lane* sending some Spring-water, in which Wallnuts had been boiled to discolour his hands and face, and other parts open to view ; and on Thursday night, the eleventh of *September*, Colonel *Lane* came with her, all things fit for his Majesties journey being provided, to a field adjoyning to Mr. *Whitgreaves* house, where the King was mounted before her, and from thence they immediately set forward, having directions given to know the Country, and recommendations also to the Allies, friends and acquaintance of her Family, if any sinister rancounter should put them to tryal.

At one Town in their journey they met with a Troop of horse, but the Captain perceiving they rid double, commanded

ed the Troop to open to the right and left, and so past them.

Being come to *Bristol*, they endeavoured to get a passage thereabouts for *France*, his Majesty being Nobly and secretly entertained at the house of Mr. *Norton* (at *Leigh* hard by *Bristol*) since Knighted for his loyalty; but it not succeeding there, and my Lord *Wilmot* being come to *Bristol*, it was agreed to go for *Salisbury*, where the King had entertainment by the Relations of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, his Majesties Secretary. Here Colonel *Gunter* fortunately came to know the King, by whose conveyance the King was brought safe into *Sussex*, to the habitation of this Noble Gentleman, and a Bark by his means procured for fifty pound, to transport two Gentlemen, upon account of a quarrel and Duel lately fought, into *France*: The Master not knowing otherwise, while at Sea, who safely and dutifully landed them at *Deep* in *Normandy*; from whence the King went immediately to *Paris*, where he was welcomed by that Court, but most joyfully received by our Queen his Mother, and the Duke, and that most affectionate Uncle of his Majesties, the late deceased Duke of *Orleans*, of famous memory.

De Bello ducit Pax lata Triumphos.

After

Anno Domini, 1652.

After this defeat, *Scotland* is with little difficulty (General *Monk* seizing most of the Scotch Presbyterian Nobility at *Ellas*, where they were in Council) reduced to the obedience of the Parliament; Garrisons were placed every where, and four Citadels most impregably fortified at *Leith*, *S. Johns*, *Ayre*, and *Inverness*; so that the total Conquest of that Nation was by the English then accomplished, and so far forth secured for ever.

This Triumph swelled the new State to other great enterprises; the Dutch had stood upon some punctilio of honour with them, as being the junior state; and for their relation to the Prince of *Aurange*, their General, were suspected (though many variations in that compass) of adherence to the King his Brother-in-law, the said Prince being lately dead. For these reasons, the Parliament published an Act (by them made) for the encouragement of Navigation, the most advantageous and pleasing to the English Mariners, and as hurtful and displeasing to the Hollander, forbidding any goods to be exported from any place, but what were of the growth and manufacture thereof in any other vessels but their own, and English, which totally excluded the Hollander, saving some petty Merchandises of Linen, Maderas, &c.

The States of *Holland* hereupon arm, and set forth a Fleet of ships under Admiral *Van-Trump*, who meeting with our Fleet at the *Downs*, in the beginning of *May*, under *Bourn*, who was soon relieved by General *Blake*, the Flag being refused by the Dutch; the fight began, and continued about four houres till night, the success lighting on the English.

This attempt made by the Dutch, highly exasperated the then State, who were used to the excesses and uncourtousments of Fortune, so that the Ambassadors here could not allay their fury, but departed home.

Sir *George Ayscue*, one of the Parliaments Captains over a Squadron of ships, being about *Plymouth*, met with a Sail of fifty Dutch Men of War, and by night, after some conflict, parted equally from them.

General *Blake* roving about the *Downs*, met with the French Fleet, then bound for the relief of *Dunkirk*, besieged by the Spaniard, which he took altogether, and thereupon that Town

was rendred to the Arch-Duke Leopold.

Sept. 28. On the 28 of September, the English met the Dutch Fleet at a place called the *Kentish-Knock*, where some of the greatest English ships struck on the Sands, but getting off again, they so fiercely plyed the Dutch, that they were forced to fly, saving themselves from a greater loss then the disabling of some six ships, whereof the Rear-Admiral was one. This was recompensed by the Dutch, who took a Man of War in the *Straits*, by *Porto-Longone*.

Decemb 20. On the twentieth of December, *Van-Trump* with a new rigged Fleet came again to the *Downs* with 100 Men of War, and Fireships, where *Blake* unhappily with a small number met them, and was forced to sail for it, being much indangered himself: Here were lost the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, and two other Merchants Ships, besides the *Vanguard* and *Victory* very much shattered.

Feb: 18. The Dutch crowed upon this Victory, and with a numerous Fleet of Merchant-men sailed to *Rochel*, giving out, that they would sweep the Seas of the English; but at their return the English met them at *Portland* and gave them such a re-encounter, that after three daies fighting (very terrible) the Dutch fled, nine Men of War being taken, and fifty Merchant-men, much slaughter on both sides, but the most on the conquered: *Van-Trump* to *Calice*, and thence to the *Weilings*; the English to *Dover*, and so to Ports.

This a second time was repaid us, by an overthrow given us in the *Straits*, where five of our Ships being not longer to be protected by the Duke of *Florence*, coming out of *Legorn*, were over-powred by a Dutch Fleet of 24 Sail, and the *Leopard*, and another *Bonaventure* taken, with other damages to the *Levant Trade*.

But such was their great preparations at home, that the Parliament minded nothing else, waving all publick busineses from the King of *France*, concerning the Ships taken at *Dunkirk*, and another message from *Bourdeaux*, and for a while deferring the *Portugal* Embassador, who came to offer restitution. And yet in the height of this grand design, an unexpected, or at least an unwardable blow quite undid them and their designs, leaving them, as became, the laughter and scorn of the Nation, while their General having turned them out, and dissolved them, made himself, after a short intervall of time, the Supreme Magistrate.

Anno Domini, 1653.

FOr on the twentieth of *April*, 1653. *Cromwell* suddenly and *April* forcibly turns out the Parliament, who had for four years, and as much as from *January* to *April* this year, since they murdered the King, tyrannized over the three Nations.

After this violation of that violencing Parliament, *Cromwell* *July 4.* and his Officers call a new Representative, and erect a new Council of State, wherein not one man of (but only such as were revolvers from) the Commonwealth were admitted. By the FACE of this new erected Council, a Convention is assembled of 120. who did nothing but folly and mischief against Church and people, particularly by their lawless act of Marriages, and vote against Tythes, and then the cunninger part of them reassigned their Trust and Power to the same hand that gave it, having made an Act also for a Tax, according to the old mode of 120000 pound *per mensem*.

By this shift of power, *Cromwell* was, as they and he said, *Decem* invested with the Supreme Authority, it being devolved unto *12.* him by the late resignation; and therefore a new device of Government was now projected, which was contained in an Instrument consisting of 42 Articles; whereby he is made Lord Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and solemnly installed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, on the sixteenth of the same moneth. This was pretended to be drawn out of *Magna Charta*; but what need we say of it?

Some struglings there were about the beginning of the new year in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in the first for life, the other of death, the Scotch hoping to recover themselves, and the Irish at the last gasp, all places and persons being neer reduced to the Usurper.

During this intermission of Government in *England*, yet there was no vacancy of War betwixt us and the *Hollanders*, who sensible of their own weakness, and the new Protectors troubles, in his ambitious aspiring designs, sent over Embassadors to treat. While they were here, the Fleets of both States being prepared, and out at Sea, happened two dismal encounters; the first on the 23 of *July*, (the Dutch having before conveyed one Fleet out towards the East and West, *France, Spain,* and the *Levant*, about by *Scotland*; and conveyed two Fleets home, one from the *Baltick* and Northern Sea from *Prussia*, and another

other that came about from *France, Levant, &c.*) which continued for three daies fighting and flying; in the first whereof General *Dean* was slain with a Canon bullet hard by General *Monck* (so Providence distinguished betwixt a King-Murderer and a King-Restorer) and the two next, in seizing and entering several ships in the pursuit, until such time as they got into the *Weylings*, having lost seventeen Men of War, whereof eleven taken and six sunk, and many prisoners taken; and which was worst, the Coast of *Holland* was so blockt up, that no ships could safely arrive in their harbours, nor no joyning of one part of the Fleet (then a rigging new, to remedy this overthrow) with another.

All preparations were therefore made by the *Hollander*, to recover not only their credit, but their livelihood and subsistence, which was to drive the English from the coast; and General *Van-Trump* having fitted himself with the choice of his Country, both for men and ships, resolved for to effect it; whereupon on the second of *Iuly* he sailed from the *Weylings*, and soon after joyned with a Fleet from the *Texel*, at the sight of which Fleets the English weighed, and on the 23 in the afternoon, part of the English under General *Monck*, then Admiral, charged through them; the next day the whole Fleet came up, but being blustrous weather could not ingage, but on Saturday both Fleets fell to it, and made an end, the Dutch being worsted, and miserably shattered, thirty six ships taken, burnt, and sunk, the rest escaping into the *Texel*, from whence were lately some of them equipped.

This was the parting blow of that War, the Dutch Ambassadors concluding a peace presently, which was transacted by *Oliver*, and concluded by him, for the facilitating his vaster designs at home, this adding reputation to his future undertakings; and so the quarrel for the Dominion of the Seas ended.

This War so ended, with such honourable success and advantage, *Cromwell* having, as before is said, the power resigned into his hands, took upon him to act as chief Magistrate, urg'd thereto by the Army and the well-affected people, and installed himself, as before, at *Westminster* the sixteenth day of *December*, Lord Protector of the three Nations.

Being also now proclaimed by his Council, with the stile aforesaid, endeavours were used every where to countenance it with Addresses, but the main one, was the invitation of the City for him to dine at *Grocers Hall*, which they sumptuously perform.

performed, and he ambitiously enough received, Knighting the Mayor for the Cities kindness.

But kindness would yield no money, therefore cruelty must; a plot against the Protector's life by one Colonel *John Gerrard*, Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Vowel*, and others, who not being chargeable by the Laws for any such attempts, were brought before a High Court of Justice, and Colonel *Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowel* condemned, and severally executed; with *Gerrard* was executed *Don Pontaleon*, the *Portugal* Ambassadors Brother, who had made a Riot in the *New-Exchange*, and slain a Gentleman, to whose rescue this Noble *Gerrard* very bravely ventured, and yet their fate was one.

General *Middleton* lands in *Scotland*, with some supplies from the King; whereupon *Glencarn* and *Seafert* joyn with him, and put a new face upon the Kings business there; but in conclusion all came to nothing, the Earl of *Middleton* being defeated at *Longherry*, who had marched through all the Highlands after him, and there overtook and worsted him, *Middleton* himself escaping, and the Earl of *Glencarn*, and the Lords of the Royal Party, coming in upon conditions, till all was quieted in that Kingdome.

Anno Domini, 1654.

King *Charles* the Second about this time departed the Kingdome of *France*, upon intimation of a Treaty then on foot betwixt that Crown and the Protector, whom soon followed his Brother the Duke of *York*; and the Duke of *Glocester*, being tempted to turn Papist, was fought out of the *Jesuites* Colledge by the Marquess of *Ormond*, according to the command of the King his Brother.

Now according to the Instrument of Government, *Cromwell* called his first Triennial Parliament, which had sit but just five lunar moneths, spent in debaring the aforesaid Instrument, and *Cromwell's* Authority, when *Cromwell* came, sent for the House to the Painted Chamber, and dissolved it with a very tedious and deceitful speech.

Now another plot, after this dissolution of the Parliament, which ended with much publick discontent, and therefore was thought a very fit juncture for such a business, was found out, and discovered from abroad by one *Manning*, one of the Secretaries to the King then at *Colen*: The first eruption of this ge-

neral design was at *Salisbury*, on the sixteenth of *March*, of some three hundred men, under the command of *Sir Ioseph Wagstaff*, in chief, and *Colonel Penruddock*, and *Groves*, consisting altogether of men of quality and condition: These proceeded Westward, where at *Blandford* they proclaimed the King, but *Oliver* knowing the plot before hand, had sent some horse that way, who forthwith pursued them, they bending towards *Devonshire*, where at *Southmolton* they were surprized in their quarters, *Wagstaff* escaped, but *Penruddock* and *Groves*, though after quarter promised by *Colonel Vnton Crook*, who took them, with some twenty more, were beheaded and executed at several places.

Another party at the same time surprized the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and endeavoured to take the Castle, but were discovered, and so failed of their enterprise: The like rising also in *Montgomeryshire*, in *Sherwood Forrest* in *Nottinghamshire*, and in *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*, so that though it was laid generally through the Nation, yet by the treachery of that *Manning*, the design was frustrated, which soon brought after it a trick called *Decimation* of the Cavaliers Estates for their old and this new (so termed) Delinquency.

ccmb The Protector had seated himself, as he thought, pretty fast in his new Usurpation; he had concluded a League with the Dutch, and *Whitlock* had made another for him with the Swede, and now the French had also entred into the like Confederation, preventing the Spaniard, the first design whereof proved to be an attempt upon the King of *Spains West-Indies*, advised by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and vigorously put in execution by the Protector; for on the nineteenth of *December*, a well-appointed Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth* to the *Barbadoes*, where, and not before, the Generals had order to open their Commissions, (*Venables* for the Land, and *Pen* for the Sea forces) no body certainly knowing their design, an occasion of much mischief afterwards to the expedition, neither Commanders nor Souldiers being sufficiently provided for so long a service with necessities.

March On the 29th of *January*, the whole Fleet, except the *Charity*, where the horses and other provisions were put aboard, arrived at Anchor in *Carlisle Bay* at the *Barbadoes*, and landed their men, where having made up the three thousand they brought with them from *England*, to the number of eight thousand, with Planters from the adjacent Isles, the 31 of *March* they

they set sail from the *Barbadoes*, and six daies after, at *S. Christophers*, took in thirteen hundred men more (Voluntiers) and from thence on the thirteenth of *April* arrived at *S. Domingo*. Here a Councel of War was called, and it was determined, that Gen^l *Venables* should land with seven thousand men, and three daies provision, ten or twelve leagues Westward to the Town, the Army being ve y joyful, and expecting nothing less then heaps of gold; accordingly they landed, but then a Proclamation was made, that no man should touch or plunder to his own use any plate, money, &c. which so deaded their hearts, that what with that, and the incommodioufness and thirst they suffered in that hot passage, being forced to drink their own Urine, they were so disheartned and dismayed, that at the very first encounter of the Enemy their courage failed them, and an inconsiderable Enemy made great execution on them.

Anno Domini, 1655.

This first succesless combat struck a panick fear through the whole Army, so that they began to grow afraid of the rustling of the leaſs of those thick woods they wandred in; but at last up they came to a Fort neer *S. Domingo*, where having made ready their Mortar Guns to play upon it, orders were given for the dismounting and hiding of them, and the next day with all hast the Army reimbarqued again, having neither provision, nor any thing else fit for their long return to Windward for *Barbadoes*; and therefore it was resolved, that they should steer directly before the wind to *Iamaica*, where they arrived on the eighteenth of *May*, and meeting no opposition landed, and possesst themselves of the chiefeſt Town; whereupon ensued a Treary betwixt the Spanish Governour and the General, which spun out time, till the Inhabitants had conveyed away their best goods and cattel; and soon after this worthy adventure, the two Generals returned into *England*, and for shew-sake were clapt up in the Tower by the Protector, and presently again released. But great was the mortality of this expedition, scarce one in four surviving; and the same misery betell them that were afterwards sent thither, being two thousand stout old Souldiers, under the severall commands of Colonel *Humphreys*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Brayn*, who was sent last to command in chief in that new-gained Island.

But what honour was lost here, was something compensated

by the valour of General *Blake*, who at the same time that this Fleet went for the *West-Indies*, was sent with another into the *Straits* to repress the violence of the Pyrates of *Algiers*, who had so infested those Seas, that commerce was not free for any Nation: Therefore having anchored before *Algiers*, he demanded restitution, and had a civil answer from thence to his satisfaction; thence he arrived at *Tunis*, demanding as before; to which the Dye or Vice-King returned answer, that there were the Castles and Ships of the Grand Seignior, that he might do his worst, they were not to be scared with his Fleet: whereupon a Council of War being called, it was resolved, to attack the Castles and Port of *Ferino*, wherein lay nine Frigats of War, and to burn them, which accordingly, and in despite of all their Ordnance and Castles they effected, with a very small loss: The news hereof was carried to the Grand Seignior, to the glory of the English Nation.

About this time a massacre was committed in *Piedmont* on the Protestants there (many say not for Religion, but Rebellion) and vast sums of money were raised by a Declaration of the Protector, resenting their miserable estate, most part of which came into his own purse at the Conclusion; yet while he was taking money in one hand for the Christians accompt, he had another open for the Jewith, who about this time had offered large sums for their readmission into this Kingdome; this could not be done without an odium, and yet the Protector kept what he had in hand as earnest from them.

The next design was a Turkish one, having erected the office and power of Major Generals, equal to Bashaws, for the several Counties, but they being upstarts, and something eclipsing his own entire greatness, he soon after laid them aside, (but never totally abrogated them) having made use of them to levy his new extortion of Decimation.

A War now was declared betwixt the Spaniard and the Protector, who sent the two Generals, *Blake*, (and *Montague* new made one) to block up the Port at *Cadix*, and to way-lay the Plate-Fleet in its return from the *Indies* (nothing was omitted to get money, which the people of *England* would not part with to him) while the French peace was then proclaimed, which had been agreed on, as before. Before *Cadix*, the English lay, hoping to draw the Spaniards out, but he would not stir, imagining the English must remove for fresh water homeward, but that was found neerer there, at *Wyers Bay* in *Portu-*

gal, whether the Generals being gone for the aforesaid purpose, leaving Rear-Admiral *Stayner* to have an eye upon the Coast, and port of *Cadix*, he cruising up and down, espied a Fleet making thitherwards, whereupon being to Leeward, he made all the possible speed he could to get up to them, they supposing his Squadron to be but Fishermen, and having received false intelligence the day before, that the English were departed; and presently engaged: The Spaniards were eight tall Galeons, he but three that fought; viz. the *Speaker*, the *Bridge-water*, and the *Plymouth*; the fight was soon over; of the Spanish two were taken, two burnt, one sunk, two ran ashore, and one escaped: In one of those that was taken great riches were found, both in Plate and in *Cocheneal*, but in the other little save hides: For this Victory a Thanksgiving day was ordered, and much rejoycing at *Wh tehall*.

Anno Domini, 1656.

Nevertheless this money would not serve turn, and therefore the Protector resolved to put it to tryal what he could do by a Parliament, hoping this success, and his reputation abroad, might have begot a dread and reverence upon the people, so that he summons a Parliament by his own Writ, to be held at *Westminster* the 17th of *September*; where finding the Election not answering his intendments, many of the late Assembly being returned again for this, he imposeth a recognition of his Authority to be taken by every Member, before he should sit in the House; and thereupon excludes far the major part. Others also, offended at this manner of proceeding, voluntarily absented themselves, and retired into their respective Counties; so that having packt this Convention according to his mind, the remnant chose Sir *Thomas Widdrington* Speaker, and fell to work, enacting several things for the Protector first, for security of his person and dignity, which had lately been attempted by one *Syndercomb* (and for which he was convicted and condemned at the Kings Bench Bar, then called the Upper bench, and was supposed to prevent his execution, to have poysoned himself the night before in the Tower, from whence he was drawn naked at a horse tail, and burned under the Scaffold at Tower-hill, and a stake drove through him) and the next, the life of the Cause, for raising of money to maintain the War against *Spain*, and for continuing Tonnage and Poundage; another was, an

ane.

Act for preventing buildings in and about *London*, a whole years Revenue to be paid for all such houses as had been built upon new foundations since the year 1620. and an Act confirming and continuing the Excise : But the chiefest of all was, a device called, *The humble Petition and Advice*, wherein *Cromwell* was entreated to be King, but his ambition durst not venture upon it, as things yet stood, so he was contented to be installed again Lord Protector, by the Authority of Parliament, which was wanting before, and that solemnly and very stately was soon after celebrated, and the Parliament adjourned.

Anno Domini, 1657.

Leave we the Protector awhile, and return to General *Blake* on the Coast of *Spain*, where finding nothing to do, being informed that the Plate-Fleet was arrived in the Canary Islands, and unladen, he resolved to sail thither, and fire the Galeons in the Harbour of *Sancta Cruz*, which with much bravery, though with as much danger and hazard, on the 20th of *April*, was attempted first by Sir *Richard Stayner*, and seconded by the whole Fleet, so that in four hours space they fired sixteen ships, and slew many hundred Spaniards on board and on shore, losing only, some 50 slain, and 120 wounded. For this exploit the General had a Diamond, nigh worth five hundred pound sent him, and Captain *Stayner* was Knighted by *Oliver*, but since the King, out of respect to his merit, hath confirmed him a Knight.

On the 19th of *April* a conspiracy was found out of the Fifth Monarchists; at a house in *Shoreditch*, several Arms and Colours were taken; as likewise Major General *Harrison*, Colonel *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, *Venner*, and others of that party were secured; it came to nothing then, but burst out dangerously since.

This Summer the Protector, according to compact and agreement with the French, had sent over some forces to joyn with the French King against the Spaniard in *Flanders*: These, under the Command of Commissary General *Reynolds*, landed in *Picardy*, and about the end of *October*, the French and he came and sit down before *Mardike*, a Fort neer *Dunkirk*, and of consequence to the taking of *Dunkirk* it self: This place, after a short siege, was rendred, and by the French put into the English hands, and so the French betook themselves to their winter.

winter-quarters, while the Spaniard, under the leading of the Duke of York, attempted by storm in the night time to regain it from the English, but were valiantly repulsed.

General *Blake* returning home from his Triumphs over the Spaniard, died on Shipboard, in sight of English Land; and General *Reynolds* returning out of *Flanders* to *England*, was cast away in the *Goodwin* Sands, and with him Colonel *White*, and others.

By one of the clauses of the humble Petition and Advice, it was declared, that the Parliament should consist of two Houses; therefore *Cromwell*, during the adjournment, fill'd up the number of that Other House, that was its name, consisting of sixty two persons, most of them Officers of the Army, and his neer Relations, most of them of mean extraction: These nevertheless, at the expiring of the prorogation appeared, and took their places in the House of Lords, according as the ancient custome was, whether the Protector came and sent for the House of Commons, where he made a canting speech to them, but the Commons returning to their House, having admitted all their Members, would neither own the new Lords, nor him that made them so, but fell into high disputes about the Government; so that *Cromwell* seeing how the game was likely to go, came, and in a great fury within ten daies after their resitting, dissolved them.

Anno Domini, 1658.

After the dissolution of this Parliament, as of course, and according to custome another plot was discovered, and this was clearly of *Cromwell's* own making; the City was to be fired, and a general insurrection and massacre of the well-affected: In this snare were taken Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Doctor *Hewet*, vide and Master, now Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, *John* now Lord Viscount *Speech*, *Mordant*, and others of meaner rank, as Colonel *Astton*, *Thomas Bettley*, *Edmond Stacy*, and others; Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Doctor *Hewet*, were beheaded at Tower-hill, and the three last hang'd and quartered in the streets of *London*.

Dunkirk, after a gallant defence, and a field battle, in June, tempting the relief, where the English had the honour, and the French and English the victory of the day, was on the sixth of June delivered to the United Forces, and by the French King put into the English hands; *Lockhart*, formerly Ambassador in

France,

France, and then General of the English, being made Governour thereof.

Now it pleased God suddenly after this tyranny and cruelty, committed on those innocent persons above-named, to call this Protector to an account, who lingring some time with an ague and a pain in his intestines, on the third day of September, his great fortunate day, breathed out his last, his death being ushered by a most terrible wind, and the coming of a Whale up the River of *Tbames*, of twenty yards long. Thus ended that wretched Politique.

After *Oliver* Protector was dead, his Son *Richard*, according to an Article in the Instrument of Government, by which he was to declare his Successor, was by his Fathers Councel proclaimed Lord Protector of these three Nations, with the usual solemnities, and accordingly owned by several addressees from most parts of the Kingdome, but drawn and subscribed by some particular persons of the times, who obtruded them upon the rest. He was courted also by the French, Swedish, Dutch Ambassadors, who all condoled him for his Fathers death.

After a little respite of time, *Richard* was advised to call a Parliament, the Courtiers thinking, that what with the Army and the Lawyers, they should make their party good for the Protector in the House of Commons, being sure of their other House of Peers, and in the mean time took care for his Fathers Funerals; which were solemnized in most ample manner, above the expences usual to any of our Kings deceased, November 23. 1658.

The Parliament being convened on the 27th of January, the Protector and his new Lords gave them a meeting in the Lords House, where he made a speech to them, which was seconded by the Keeper *Fiennes*, and so departed to *Whitehall*, the Lords keeping their seats, and the major part of the House of Commons, not vouchsafing audience, betook themselves to their own house, and elected *Challoner Chute* for their Speaker.

The Parliament being in some measure, fuller then it used, by reason of Knights and Burgeses from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, began with the old Trade of questioning the power. In conclusion, the debate came to this result, that they would recognize the Lord Protector, but so that nothing should be binding, till all other Acts to be prepared by the Parliament should likewise pass and be confirmed: For the other House also, that no stop might be put to the great design of settling the Kingdome,

dome, which was then aimed at, and that question of owning them being but a baülk to their proceeding, they resolved to transact with them for this Parliament as a House of Peers, not excluding the right of other the Peers of *England*.

The Protector, at the instance of the King of *Sweden*, had rigg'd forth a Fleet for the *Sound*, which being ready to set sail, the Parliament ordered that for this time the Protector should have the mannagement of the Militia in this expedition, reserving to themselves the Supreme right thereto; that Fleet, after six moneths time, returned back again, *re infecta*.

Now the debates flew high in the House of Commons, tending to the lessening the power of the Sword, which was grown so exorbitant; therefore the Army being sensible whereto such consultations would finally tend, resolved to break up the Parliament; and accordingly, having secured the Protector, made him sign a Commission to *Fiennes* to dissolve it, which accordingly was done, though the House of Commons, to prevent it, adjourned themselves for three daies; but then out came a Proclamation, forced likewise from the Protector, whereby he declared that Parliament to be absolutely dissolved.

Now the Army, and some of the tail of the Parliament which were turned out by *Oliver* in 1653. joyn their heads together, and so make way for their free Commonwealth again. *Richard* Protector is laid aside, the Officers of the Army playing some eight daies with the Government, and then resigning it to those men, who very readily imbraced the motion, and met *May 7.* in the House the Old Speaker, and some forty more making up a *Quorum*, and forthwith published a Declaration, how that by the wonderful Providence and goodness of God they were restored, which to most seemed the saddest judgement could befall the Nation.

Presently they fall to their old trade of squeezing money, and providing sure for themselves against any more attempts of the Army, leisurely purging out those that had been active with *Oliver* against them, but by all means refuse to admit those Members that by the like force were formerly secluded in 1648. They depose the Protector, and make him sign a Resignation, yet promising him the yearly allowance of 10000 l. *per annum*, and the payment of his debts, so that they thought themselves now cock-sure, levying money by taxes before hand, to gratifie the Army, for the peoples love they never expected, and then settle the Militia in confiding hands.

Anna

Anno Domini, 1659.

Sir Geo.
Booth
defeated
Aug. 20.

But this then exclusion of their Members, and taxes, and the fear of other pressures, the Nation having had too late and long experience of their Government, so stomacked the people, that designs were every where laid to turn them out of their new acquired Authority: But the most powerfulest attempt against them was in *Cheshire*, under Sir George Booth, with whom there rose to the number of 4000 or 5000 men, and most of the Gentlemen of that County. Against these, Major General Lambert, then highly in favour with the Rump, so it was commonly called, was sent with an Army, which with additions out of *Ireland*, very neer equalled that number: At a place called *Northwich*, a small skirmish happened between them, some fourteen killed and wounded; whereupon those under Sir George Booth fled, and *Chester* was delivered; with some other holds newly possessed by the *Cheshire* men to Lambert, and *Zanchy*, whom he left behind him to reduce them, while he himself passed through *Lancashire* to his house at *Craven*, where with his Officers plotted the dissolution of the Rump, which accordingly upon his coming up to *London*, was put in execution, *October* the 11th; and now the Army had the sole power in their hands again.

Lambert hereupon, for we must suppose he is the Agent for his own ambition, though also agreed upon by *Fleetwood*, and the rest of the Officers, erect a Committee of Safety of some thirty of the most eminent amongst them, into whose hands they devolve the Supreme Authority.

But the Members of the Rump resolve not to be baffled so, Sir Arthur Hazelrig in *December* possessed himself of *Portsmouth*, and General Monk in *Scotland* declares his unsatisfiedness in these proceedings of the Army at *London*, so that while Lambert was engaged in the North, and attending the issue of a Treaty with General Monk there, the Members return from *Portsmouth* to *London*, through the division they had wrought in the Army, the way they chalked out to their own ruine.

The Lord Fairfax was also risen with a sufficient force, restraining Lamberts men from free quarter; so that lacking money, and news arrived of the Parliaments sitting at *Westminster*, he comes back to *London*, whither immediately followed him General Monk, having been courted all along his march by the
Gentlemen

Gentlemen of all the Countiees of *England* for a free Parliament.

At his coming to the Parliament, he declared the sense of the Countreyes through which he passed, but nothing less was minded by them then a new or free Parliament; but this, and other his actions, rendred him very suspitious to them, nor was any man assured of his intentions. To try him therefore, the Rump having been denied moneys by the City, and therefore offended with them; to ruine both, by their expresse Command, the General was sent with his Army into the City, pulled down their Gates and Portcullises, seized several Citizens at the *Guildhall*, and sent them to the Tower; this seemed to portend some dreadful conclusion: But in the interim, the Rump voted, that the Government of the Army should rest in five persons, making the General one of those; which procedure of theirs, presently drew the Curtain to the Scene and design ensuing.

Anno Dom. 1660.

For now the General having rendezvuz'd his Army in *Finsbury* fields, acquainted his Officers with the necessity of introducing the secluded Members ever since 1648. into the Parliament, in order to the well-settlement of the Nations, to which they assented, and forthwith the whole Army marched into *London*, where upon the joyful news of this miraculous turn, (expecting nothing but massacres and plunderings) they were most welcomely entertained, nothing being thought too good for these Guests, whom they little before more then suspected for their Enemies.

This was Saturday the of *February* in the afternoon, so that at night the Town was all of a blaze, every door having a bonfire, where all the contumely and disgrace that could be done a perdit and hated sort of men, by burning, roasting, and frying of all manner of Rumps of Creatures, was most spitefully performed, their Speaker getting home with much danger to his house in *Chancery-lane*.

A fortnights time the General let them alone, minding them only of their dissolution, which time they spent in making qualifications for the Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament, which were so many, and so strict and unreasonable, that the General delayed no longer, but on Munday, having convened the aforesaid secluded Members at *Whitehall*, went with them

to the Parliament House, and there put them in, to the confusion and astonishment of the Rumpers, many of whom forbore to sit thereafter in company with them, as knowing what would ensue,

The said Members being thus serled, addrest themselves immediately to the settlement, &c. making the General Captain General of all the Forces in the three Kingdomes, and nulling some former destructive Vores, and establishing a Militia of well-affected and loyal persons in the severall Countie of *England*, and then according to the contract and comprowise with the General, on the day of *March*, dissolved that long and fatal Parliament, having ordered Writs to issue out for a new one to sit down at *Westminster* the 25th of *April* next the year 1661.

In this interval, the Government was lodged in a Council of State, who persisted in the same wayes for a settlement, leaving the Top-stone to be laid by the Free Parliament, a term unusual to our Ancestors, but to this Generation a delightful novelty, after so many forces and violences upon so many in so few years. Colonel *Lambert*, at the instance of the General, had by the Rump been sent to the Tower, from whence now he broke and escaped, and came to *Edge-hill*, where was intended a great Rendezvouz of the Phanatick part of the Army then male-contented with the proceedings; but his design failed of the expected assistance, Colonel *Ingoldsby* being sent in pursuit of him, and dispersing his small party at the same place, from whence he was brought to *London*, and committed a safer prisoner to the Tower aforesaid.

On the 25th of *April* the Parliament convened in both Houses, to whom a week after their sitting came a Letter from the Kings Majesty, with another to the General, and one to the City of *London*, brought by *John Lord Viscount Mordant*, and *Sir Iohn Greenville*, now Earl of *Bath*, which were all with due humility and gladness received, and a Vote passed in Parliament, that their most humble thanks should be presented, by Commissioners appointed to attend his Majesty then at the *Hague* for his gracious Letters, and he should be desired to return with all convenient speed to the exercise of his Kingly Government; and *Sir Thomas Charges* was first dispatcht by the General on the same Errand, where at Court he was very much welcomed.

Tuesday the eighth of *May*, the King was proclaimed with
all

all the magnificences usual, but with the unusual and extraordinary joy of the people, who made great bonfires that night, and seemed as it were to be in a kind of extasie: On the 25th the King landed from *Holland*, being attended by a gallant Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich* at *Dover*, where the Genral met him (the Sea, and Heaven, and Earth, rung with the peals of Ordinance) and so to *Canterbury*, to *Rochester*, and ou the 29 day, being *Tuesday*, his most auspicious Birth-day, triumphantly and peaceably entred his Royal City of *London*, where the acclamations and shoutings were so loud and hearty, that it is impossible to eccho or expresse them, to the great pleasure, and yet disturbance of the King, who about six in the evening came to his Palace at *Whitehal*, where in the Banqueting House both Houses attended him. All the way the way through the City, the General rode bareheaded next before his Majestie, his two Brothers, *York* and *Gloucester* riding of each side covered. After a short congratulation, the King being weary, went to his Bed-chamber, where he supped, and so to his rest, having come 27 miles that day, besides his going through *London*; and within two days after, his Royal Brethren having taken their places in the House of Lords, came to the Parliament, where he made a Speech, earnestly pressing the Act of Free pardon and indempnity, which he had promised in his Declaration from *Breda*.

The next thing he did, was the emitting a Proclamation, requiring all those who had a hand in the execrable murder of his Father, to render themselves within such a time, which some obeyed, the rest fled; those that came in, were (by the Act of Pardon, which came out soon after with some other) respited, till another Parliament should determine of them either to life or death: This was in favour for their rendring themselves.

On the day of August, dyed the most noble and accomplished Prince *Henry Duke of Gloucester* of the Small Pox, at *Whitehal*, to the very great sorrow of the whole Kingdom, being a Prince of singular verrues and endowments.

In *October*, 1661. they, with the rest that were apprehended for the said crine, were severally arraigned at the Sessions House in the *Old-Bailey*, before Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*; where after Tryal, they were all found guilty; and convicted of High-Treason, for compassing, contriving and bringing about the death of the King; for which 26 of them had sentence to

be drawn, hanged, and quartered; sixteen of them, who rendered themselves according to the aforesaid Proclamation, were respited till the Parliament should by an Act determine of them; but the other ten; viz. Major General Harrison, John Carew, John Cook, the Solicitor to the pretended Court of Justice, Hugh Peters, Thomas Scot, Gregory Clement, John Iones, Adrian Scroop, Francis Hacker, and Daniel Axtel, were executed according to the sentence, eight of them at Charing Cross, and the two last at Tyburn; their Heads set upon Westminster-Hall and London-Bridge, and their quarters upon the Gates of London.

In December the King dissolved the Parliament, which he honored with the Epithete of, *The Healing Parliament*; and on the 24 of December dyed also that most illustrious Princess of *Aurunge*, His Majesties Sister, of the same disease which snatched away her Brother the Duke of Gloucester, to the extreme grief of the King, the Queen Mother, and the whole Court.

The Queen Mother had come over some while before, with her Daughter the Lady Henrietta, and now prepared for her departure, fearing the disease might run in the blood, the young Princess being not very well, and accordingly the King in company with them, to bring them to the waters side, came to Portsmouth in the Christmas time, and thence the Ladies took shipping for France.

While the King was but this short while absent, hapned that desperate Rebellion and Insurrection in the City of London, by the Fifth Monarchists, at two sundry times, on the ninth of January at night, being Sunday; where they alarmed the City, marched through the gates, threatening to take down their Masters, those Regicides quarters, killing some four men, and so sculked till Wednesday morning next; at which time they appeared again, and resolutely fought with the Trained Bands, and a Squadron of the Life-guard of Horse, in Woodstreet, maintaining their ground till they were surrounded, and then they began to retreat, but still in order: There were killed of them some eighteen, and they killed as many. Venner a Wine Cooper, who was their Leader, was taken, and twenty more, twelve of which were executed with him at several places in London, being convicted of High-Treason for levying war against the King.

On January 30. 1660. the bodies of Oliver Cromwel, John Bradshaw, and Henry Ireton, were removed from their Interments, in

in *Westminster Abbey*, and hanged at *Tyburn*, and there buried, their heads set upon *Westminster-Hall*.

In *Michaelmas Term* this year, there was a call of fourteen Sergeants at Law, and the Courts at *Westminster* were filled with Judges; the names of which most Grave and Honorable Persons are as followeth, Sir Robert Foster, Lord chief Justice of England, Sir Thomas Mallet, Sir Thomas Twissden, Sir Wadham Windham of the Kings Bench, Sir Orlando Bridgeman Lord chief Justice, Sir Robert Hyde, Sir Samuel Brown, Sir Thomas Tyrryl, in the Common Pleas, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Christopher Turner, Barons of the Exchequer.

Anno Dom. 1661.

His Majestie at His dissolution of the Parliament, having promised to call another with all convenient expedition, issued out Writs for the election thereof, and appointed the eighth of *May* for their sitting down at *Westminster*; where they accordingly convened, and ratified several Acts made by the preceding Parliament, which being not summoned by the Kings Writ, was not by Law held sufficient; the Act of Oblivion was first confirmed, being very much urged and pressed by the King, as the foundation of a sure and lasting settlement.

At the opening of the Parliament, the King acquainted them with His resolution; of marrying *Donna Catharina*, the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, which they very joyfully received, by a Vote passed to that purpose in both Houses: There likewise passed an Act in repeal of that 1 *Carol. 17.* against the Civil Power of Bishops, thereby debarring them from their Privileges as Peers, which by this Repeal are to be restored fully unto them; with many other Acts of Publique concernment, and then adjourned till the *November 20.* instant.

The Right Honorable the Earl of *Sandwich*, having sailed with a Fleet of men of War to the Coasts of *Barbary*, to confirm the League between those Pyrates and this Nation, came to an Anchor at *Algeir*, where he entred into a Treaty with the Governor of that Port, which not succeeding, the Fleet weighed and stood into the Harbour; where after the had fired some ships, and done some execution on shore, he came out again, having received some little loss both of men and rigging.

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From thence he set sail towards the Coast of *Spain*, leaving Vice Admiral *Lawson* to guard the said Port.

By a Commission from the King, the Right Honorable the Earl of *Peterburgh* was made General for the expedition to *Tanger*, a strong place and Fortrefs of the *Portugals*, on the streights of *Gibraltar*, and Forces are now ready to imbarke in company with that Fleet which is going to bring home her Majestie the Queen from *Lisbon*.

About this time hapned a fray, or conflict on *Tower-hill*, at the Reception of the Swedish Ambassador, berwixt the French and Spanish Ambassadors Coaches for Præcedency, where seven or eight were killed, and the French worsted : This so highly incensed the French King, that he sent to *Madrid* to demand satisfaction, but received none ; so that upon this and some other janglings, there is now a kinde of a petty Hostility between them. During this clash, the Prince of *Spain* dyed, and to the King of *France* was born a Daulphin, Christned by the name of *Lewes Tous Saints*, because he was born on *All-Saints Day*.

October. Col. *Lambert*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Hadrefs Waller*, Col. *Cobbet*, were sent away from the *Tower*, to several remote places, for their own preservation, as well as security of the peace ; and divers others secured upon account of a Plot ; a Narrative whereof cannot be given yet, nor in this piece, which hath attained its conclusion.

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